

INDEXED

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

CONTENTS

The Church in Delaware

Edgar Legare Pennington

The Case of Thomas Thomlinson

Elizabeth Kaye

Journal of Bishop Ravenscroft of North Carolina

Devereux Jarratt—1732-1801

E. Clowes Chorley

Reviews

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

MARCH
1936

PER YEAR
\$4.00

PER COPY
\$1.25

ZRA
26

5
1936

61

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, WITH THE APPROVAL OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR

E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D. D., L. H. D.
Garrison, N. Y.

BUSINESS MANAGER AND TREASURER

REV. WALTER H. STOWE
5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D. D.
Richmond, Va.

WILLIAM A. R. GOODWIN, D. D.
Williamsburg, Virginia

JAMES ARTHUR MULLER, Ph. D.
Cambridge, Massachusetts

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON
Ocala, Florida

WALTER H. STOWE
New Brunswick, N. J.

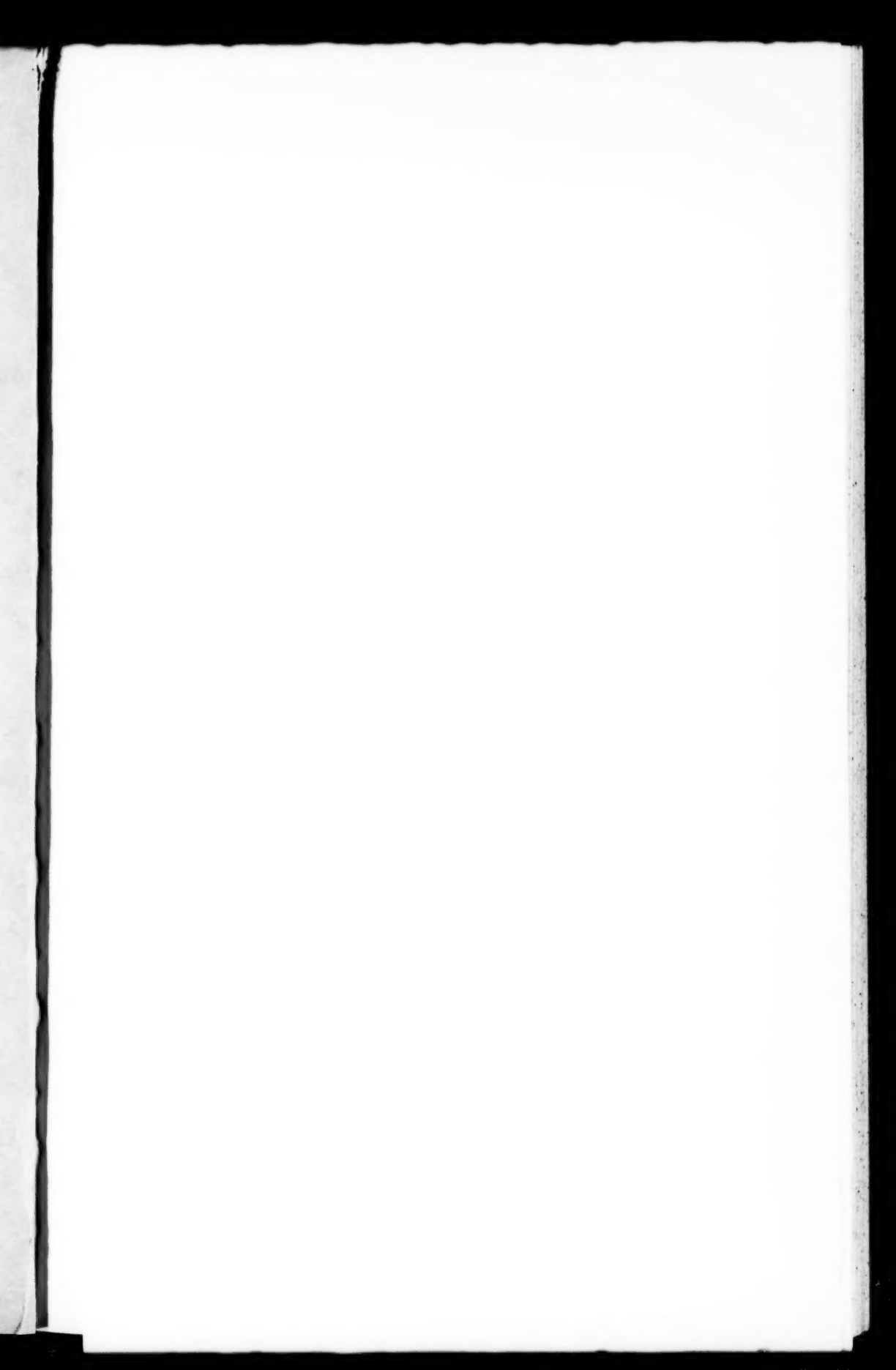
COUNSELOR

COLONEL S. B. ARNOLD, U. S. A.
Garrison, N. Y.

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Garrison, New York. All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



JAN 4 '37

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

INDEX TO VOLUME V.

Four Numbers—March, June, September and December, 1936

R—for Book Reviews

- Abercrombie, Rev. James, 269.
Adventure in Faith, 348R.
Albert, Rev. Allan D., 300, 310.
American Episcopal Church, 65-70R.
Anderson, Rt. Rev. Charles, 307, 310.
Anthon, Rev. Henry, 170, 183, 184, 190, 253.
Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 88, 89.
Ayrault, Rev. Walter, 282.
Ayres, Rev. William, 128, 141.
- Barbour, David, 85.
Barclay, Rev. Henry, 312-314, 319.
Barker, Rt. Rev. William M., 331.
Barnewell, Rev. W. H., 186, 187, 190.
Barry, Rev. J. G. H., 303, 304, 346.
Batten, Rev. Loring, 220, 262.
Bibliography, 253, 254.
Beach, Rev. Abraham, 122-141.
Beal, Rev. Harry, 341.
Beaver, Rev. 92.
Beckwith, Rev. Isbon T., 254, 262.
Berrian, Rev. William, 173.
Bill, Rev. Edward C., 300.
Birdsall, Rev. Elias, 96, 97.
Bissett, Rev. John, 4, 5.
Black, Rev. J. T., 98.
Bliss, Rev. John, 73, 74.
Blodgett, Rev. Francis B., 263.
Blow, Rev. Robert, 106.
Body, Rev. Charles W. E., 254, 262.
Bondet, Rev. 324.
Borland, Harriet B., 310.
Bowden, Rev. John, 136.
Bowen, Rt. Rev. Nathaniel, 163.
Bowie, Rev. W. R., 254.
Boynton, Rev. Charles H., 263.
Breck, Rev. James L., 96, 286-295, 297.
Brent, Rt. Rev. Charles H., 70-72.
Brewer, Rev. A. L., 96.
Bronson, Rev. Tillotson, 91.
Brownell, Rt. Rev. Thomas C., 156, 189, 240, 263.
Bibliography, 254.
Buel, Rev. Samuel, 245, 263, 293-297.
Bibliography, 254.
Bull, Rev. William T., 336, 339.
Burleson, Rev. Solomon, 293.
Burr, Thaddeus, 87.
- Burton, Rev. Daniel, 345.
Butler, Rev. Alford A., 300.
Byles, Rev. Mather, 87.
Byrne, Rev. Francis, 328.
- Cady, Rev. Philander K., 216, 252, 264.
Cameron, Hon. Duncan, 158.
Caner, Rev. Henry, 75, 87.
Carey, Rev. Arthur, 180-185, 278.
Carter, Rev. Lawson, 154.
Carver, Jonathan, 91.
Chambers, Rev. Corry, 16-21.
Chandler, Rev. Thomas B., 123, 124, 227.
Chase, Rev. George L., 70, 297, 298.
Chase, Rt. Rev. Philander, 26, 198, 347.
Christian Journal, The, 152.
Church in California, 92-97.
In Colorado, 325-334.
In Connecticut, 73-91.
In Delaware, 1-26.
In Idaho, 103-120.
In Illinois, 341.
Springfield:
St. Paul's Church, 347R.
In Nevada, 101, 102.
In New York:
Calvary Church, 142, 143R.
St. Mark's Church, 161, 162, 182, 341.
St. Mary's Church, 342.
St. Peter's Church, 144R, 160, 162, 167, 168.
In Oregon, 97-100.
In Rhode Island, 341.
In South Carolina, 151-153, 159-163, 186, 335-340.
In Virginia, 47-64.
In Washington, 100, 101.
In Western New York, 70-72R, 267-285.
Churchman, The, 170, 176, 178, 180, 195, 196, 200, 206, 243.
Claggett, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 7, 8.
Clark, Rev. Orin, 241.
Clarke, Rev. James P. F., 154.
Clarkson, Rev. Joseph, 5, 6.
Clay, Rev. Robert, 2, 4, 12.
Clayton, Hon. Joshua, 4, 5.

- Clinch, R. F., 307.
 Cline, Rev. Thomas S., 221, 263.
 Coke, Rev. Thomas, 128, 139, 140.
 Cole, Rev. A. B., 286.
 Coleman, Rev. John, 62.
 Coleman, Samuel, 178.
 Colton, Rev. Jonathan, 75.
 Companions of the Holy Saviour, 346.
 Cooke, Rev. Samuel, 124.
 Cottrell, J. N., 295.
 Coudens, Rev. Joseph, 4.
 Cox, Rt. Rev. Arthur C., 4, 142, 207, 212, 277, 285, 291.
 Croes, Rt. Rev. John, 128, 152, 165, 173.
 Crook, Rev. Frederick, 110-116.
 Crosswell, Rev. William, 67, 175.
- Dashiell, Rev. George, 6.
 Davenport, Rev. F. P., 303, 304.
 Davis, Rt. Rev. Cameron, 71.
 Davis, Rev. George, 300.
 Dean, Rev. Barzillai, 74.
 Dean, Rev. George W., 216, 264.
 Dearborn, Luther, 295.
 Dehon, Rt. Rev. Theodore, 151, 152.
 Deis, Rev. Frederick, 309.
 De Koven, Rev. James, 226.
 De Lancey, Rt. Rev. William H., 70, 187, 191, 198, 199, 267-285.
 De Lancey Divinity School, 267, 277.
 Denslow, Rev. Herbert, 252-253, 263.
 De Witt, Rev. William C., 304-306.
 Dibblee, Rev. Ebenezer, 141.
 Dickey, Rev. Thomas, 294.
 Doane, Rt. Rev. George W., 154, 164, 190, 198, 225, 226, 239, 272, 348.
 Dobbin, Rev. James, 173, 175, 254, 294-296, 299.
 Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 155.
 Dorr, Rev. Benjamin, 154, 239.
 Duck, Rev. Thomas, 330.
 Duer, Judge John, 182.
 Duff, Thomas, 2, 4.
 Dyer, Rev. Frank, 309.
- Eastburn, Rt. Rev. Manton, 167, 175, 187, 190, 239, 240, 272.
 Easton, Rev. Burton S., 225, 263, 305, 308.
 Bibliography, 254.
 Edmunds, Rev. Charles C., 255, 262.
 Eigenbrodt, Rev. William, 175, 206, 217, 245, 249, 263.
 Elmendorf, Rev. J. J., 303.
 Enmegahbowh, Rev. 294.
Episcopal Recorder, The, 185, 280.
 Etheridge, Rev. S. S., 96.
 Evangelical Knowledge Society, 280, 281.
 Everitt, Rev. William, 201.
- Fackler, Rev. St. Michael, 92, 98, 99, 104, 105.
 Faribault, Alexander, 287, 290, 291.
- Feltus, Rev. Henry J., 157, 171.
 Ferris, Rt. Rev. Davis, 72.
 Field, Charles E., 310.
 Fletcher, Rev. Francis, 92.
 Forbes, Rev. John M., 92, 208, 245, 262.
 Forrester, Rev. Donald F., 263.
 Fosbroke, Rev. Hughell, 220, 262.
 Foster, Rev. A. H., 305.
 Foster, Rev. Theodore, 305, 308.
 Fowler, Rev. Andrew, 67.
 Frazer, Rev. William, 136, 138.
- Gadsden, Rt. Rev. Christopher, 187, 191.
 Gage, Gen. Thomas, 84, 87, 89.
 Gale, Clement R., 264.
Gambier Observer, The, 69, 177.
 Garden, Rev. Alexander, 336, 339.
 Gavin, Rev. Frank S. B., 220, 263.
 Bibliography, 255.
 Gear, Rev. E. G., 295.
 General Convention, 42, 68, 69, 145, 148-158, 163, 173, 189, 207, 265, 271.
 General Sunday School Union, 171, 280.
 General Theological Seminary, 145-253, 280, 285, 297, 302, 305.
 Periodical List, 228-237.
 Geneva Academy, 157.
 Glover, Rev. Joseph, 15.
 Gold, Rev. William J., 296, 302-304.
Gospel Messenger, The, 279.
 Grafton, Rt. Rev. Charles, 212, 346.
 Grant, Rev. Frederick C., 308.
 Grantham, James, 3.
 Graves, Rev. Matthew, 74-78.
 Gray, Rev. E. P., 295.
 Green, Rt. Rev. William M., 42-46.
 Gregory, Mrs. Robert B., 307.
 Griffith, Rev. David, 3.
 Griswold, Rt. Rev. Alexander V., 66, 69, 272.
 Guy, Rev. William, 336, 338, 339.
- Haight, Rev. Benjamin I., 160, 175, 181, 188, 243, 248, 263.
 Hale, Rt. Rev. Charles R., 304, 305.
 Hall, Rev. Francis J., 263, 302-304, 308.
 Bibliography, 255.
 Hall, Rev. Randall C., 205, 244, 255, 263.
 Hall, Rev. Richard, 9.
 Hallock, Rev. Frank, 309.
 Harriman, Rev. Orlando, 96.
 Hart, Rev. Henry M., 332, 334.
 Hassell, Rev. Thomas, 336, 338, 339.
 Hatch, Rev. William, 263.
 Bibliography, 255.
 Hawks, Rt. Rev. Cicero, 342.
 Hawks, Rev. Edward, 345, 346.
 Hawks, Rev. Francis L., 161, 169, 242.
 Bibliography, 255.
 Hayes, Rev. Charles, 70, 256, 264, 267, 278.
 Henshaw, Rt. Rev. J. P. K., 199.
 Hibbard, Mrs. Lydia L., 305.
 Hill, Rev. William H., 97.

- Hillhouse, Dr. James, 86.
Hills, Rev. George M., 267.
Hinman, Rev. Samuel D., 288, 291, 293.
Hobart, Rt. Rev. John H., 66, 69-71,
128, 149-159, 162, 165, 167-171,
226-228, 238-242, 263, 269, 272-
275.
Bibliography, 256-258.
Hodgson, Rev. Leonard, 220, 264.
Bibliography, 258, 259.
Hoffman, Rev. Eugene, 161, 204, 208,
209, 216, 241, 246-251, 259, 262.
Hopkins, Rt. Rev. John H., 68, 69, 189-
191, 213.
Horlick, William, 306.
Hoskins, Rev. Francis, 298.
Houdin, Rev. Michael, 312-324.
Houghton, Rev. John H., 205, 259, 330.
Hubbard, Rev. Bela, 86.
Humphreys, Rev. David, 339.
Huntington, Mrs. A. M., 298.
Huntington, Rev. George P., 292.
Hyland, Rev. Peter, 99-101.
Inglis, Rt. Rev. Charles, 227, 343-345R.
Ives, Rt. Rev. Levi, 190.
Jarratt, Rev. Devereux, 47-64, 67, 144.
Jarvis, Rev. Samuel F., 153, 154, 238,
239, 262.
Bibliography, 259.
Jenks, Rev. Arthur W., 259, 263.
Jewett, Rev. Edward, 263.
Jewett, Stephen, 298.
Johns, Kensey, 4.
Johnson, Rt. Rev. Irving P., 301, 334.
Johnson, Rt. Rev. Joseph H., 144R.
Johnson, Rev. Samuel, 74-77, 148.
Johnson, Rev. Samuel R., 175, 176, 205,
207, 243, 263.
Johnson, Rev. Sherman, 310.
Jones, Rev. Ezra, 288.
Jubilee College, 301, 302.
Junkin, Mrs. F. T. A., 307.
Kebble, Rev. John, 117, 282.
Kedney, Rev. J. S., 297.
Keeler, Rt. Rev. Stephen, 301.
Keep, Chauncey, 306.
Kehler, Rev. John, 327.
Kelley, Rev. Douglas O., 97.
Kemper, Rt. Rev. Jackson, 150, 164,
189, 198, 227, 269, 286-290.
Kendig, Rev. Daniel, 100.
Kinsman, Rt. Rev. Frederick, 263.
Bibliography, 259.
Kip, Rt. Rev. William, 94, 95, 114, 295.
Knickerbacker, Rt. Rev. D. B., 288,
293, 295.
Knill, Mrs. Alice, 294.
Kohne, Frederick, 202.
Kramer, Rev. Frederick, 301, 310.
Lauderburn, Rev. Frederick, 221, 263.
Lawrence, Rev. William A., 341.
Leaming, Rev. Jeremiah, 68, 345.
Leanworth, Rev. W. R., 92.
Lee, Rt. Rev. Alfred, 3, 5, 24-26, 198-
201.
Leigh, Miss Mary, 288.
Le Pienne, Rev. John, 338, 339.
Lewis, Rev. Leicester C., 305.
Lorillard, Jacob, 164.
Lyman, Rev. Theodore, 208.
Madison, Rt. Rev. James, 66, 67.
Magaw, Rev. Samuel, 3.
Mahan, Rev. Milo, 205-209, 263, 295,
296, 343.
Bibliography, 259.
Manney, Rev. Solon W., 286-294.
Mansfield, Rev. Richard, 86.
Marshall, Rev. Charles H., 328, 329.
Matthews, Rt. Rev. Paul, 301.
McCarty, Rev. J., 98.
McCoskey, Rt. Rev., 198, 282.
McDonald, Rev. Daniel, 240.
McElwain, Rt. Rev. Frank, 301, 310.
McGarvey, Rev. William, 345-346R.
McGowan, Rev. James S., 97.
McIlwaine, Rt. Rev., 181, 190, 191, 195,
198.
McLaren, Rt. Rev. William, 301-304.
McMaster, Rev. S. V., 295.
McVickar, Rev. John, 142, 183.
Meade, Rt. Rev. William, 67, 226.
Mercer, Rev. Samuel A., 305, 307, 308.
Merry, Rev. Francis, 336, 338.
Miller, Rev. Dickinson, 259, 264.
Mills, Miss Mary J., 288.
Milnor, Rev. James, 179, 181.
Mines, Rev. Flavel, 67, 92, 93.
Moore, Rt. Rev. Benjamin, 127, 135,
168.
Moore, Clement C., 153, 157-164, 167,
181, 188, 196, 216, 238, 240, 243-246,
259, 263.
Moorhouse, Rev. Samuel, 93.
Morris, Rt. Rev. Benjamin W., 99, 114.
Muhlenburg, Rev. William A., 150, 152.
Munro, Rev. Harry, 269.
Nash, Rev. Daniel, 70.
Nashotah, 286, 346.
Neeley, Rt. Rev. Henry, 303.
Neufville, Edward, 190.
Nevins, Rev. R. D., 100.
Newell, Rev. Chester, 92.
Newton, Edward, 187.
Nicholson, Gov. Francis, 335, 336, 340.
Normelli, Mme. Edith, 310.
Norwood, Rev. Percy, 305, 308.
Oakes, Rev. F. W., 333.
Ogden, Thomas L., 187.
Ogden, Rev. Uzal, 127, 138.
Ogilby, Rev. John D., 181, 186, 188, 195,
197, 198, 205, 210, 242, 243, 260, 263.
Ohl, Rev. John W., 330.
Oliver, Rev. John R., 309.

- Onderdonk, Rt. Rev. Benjamin T., 68, 157, 160, 164, 165, 169, 173, 179, 181-188, 197, 240, 260, 263, 264, 272, 278.
- Onderdonk, Rt. Rev. Henry U., 13-15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 165, 272.
- Oregon Churchman, The*, 99.
- Orthodox Church, *The*, 347R.
- Otey, Rt. Rev. James, 198.
- Oxford Tracts, 178-180, 188, 189, 277.
- Paddock, Rt. Rev. John A., 100, 101.
- Page, Rt. Rev. Herman, 118.
- Palmer, Rev. D. F. L., 301.
- Pardee, Rev. Isaac, 14.
- Parks, Rev. J. Lewis, 143.
- Parks, Rev. Leighton, 217.
- Parrott, James, 28-39.
- Peake, Rev. E. S., 287, 290, 293.
- Perry, Rt. Rev. William S., 63.
- Peters, Rev. Samuel, 68, 69, 76-91.
- Phelps, Rev. Davenport, 70.
- Phelps, John, 85.
- Phelps, Mrs. Lucy, 296.
- Pinkham, Rev. Victor, 301.
- Pintard, John, 156, 164.
- Polk, Rt. Rev. Leonidas, 198.
- Pomeroy, Rev. Ralph B., 264.
- Ponderous, Rev. Albert, 338, 339.
- Poole, Rev. Charles A., 299, 300.
- Potter, Rt. Rev. Alonzo, 166, 227.
- Potter, Rt. Rev. Henry C., 225.
- Potter, Rt. Rev. Horatio, 175.
- Prescott, Rev. Oliver, 226.
- Presstman, Rev. S. W., 12, 13, 26.
- Prosser, Rev. J. W., 116.
- Provoost, Rt. Rev. Samuel, 3, 66, 67, 126, 139, 144, 227, 266, 342, 344.
- Pryce, Rev. William, 6-8.
- Punderson, Rev. Ebenezer, 74, 76.
- Pyne, Rev. Thomas, 160.
- Randall, Rt. Rev. George M., 104, 327-329.
- Ravenscroft, Rt. Rev. John S., *Journal*, 42-46.
- Reading, Rev. Philip, 1.
- Reece, John, 2.
- Reed, James, 28-37.
- Reynolds, Alexander, 2.
- Richardson, Rev. John A., 264.
- Richey, Rev. Thomas, 260, 263, 296, 297.
- Richmond, Rev. James C., 68.
- Richmond, Rev. William, 98.
- Ridgeley, Nicholas, 2.
- Riley, Rev. Theodore, 260, 263.
- Rivington, James, 140.
- Robbins, Rev. Howard C., 221, 263.
- Bibliography, 260.
- Robbins, Rev. Wilford L., 220, 252, 260, 262.
- Robinson, Walter, 264.
- Roe, Rev. Samuel, 2.
- Rogers, Rt. Rev., 341.
- Rollit, Rev. C. C., 301.
- Roosevelt, Hon. Franklin D., 341.
- Roper, Rt. Rev. John C., 263.
- Ross, Rev. Aeneas, 2.
- Rushton, Rev. Joseph A., 341.
- Russell, Rev. Francis T., 245, 247, 264.
- Russell, Rev. William C., 15.
- St. Mary's on the Delaware, 348R.
- Sanford, Rev. David P., 287, 288.
- Satterlee, Rt. Rev. Henry, 143.
- Schroeder, Rev. Frederick, 167, 240.
- Scott, Rt. Rev. Thomas F., 98-101, 104, 105.
- Seabury, Rt. Rev. Samuel, 4, 66, 67, 91, 139, 140, 227, 344, 345.
- Seabury, Rev. Samuel, 74, 170, 177, 178, 206-209, 241, 243, 262.
- Bibliography, 260.
- Seabury, Rev. William J., 244, 264.
- Bibliography, 261.
- Seabury-Western Seminary, 286-311.
- Sedgwick, Rev. Theodore, 143.
- Seibt, Rev. Charles, 264.
- Sellwood, Rev. John, 98.
- Seymour, Rt. Rev. George, 206, 210, 212, 242, 246, 248, 261-263, 303-305.
- Bibliography, 261.
- Shattuck, Dr. George, 295.
- Shepard, Rev. Charles N., 220, 264.
- Sherman, Louis, 178.
- Sherred, Jacob, 157, 241.
- Shoemaker, Rev. Samuel, 142, 143.
- Sibley, Gen. Hiram, 293.
- Simpson, Rev. Cuthbert, 261, 263.
- Slattery, Rt. Rev. Charles L., 220, 300.
- Smith, Rev. Hugh, 160, 170, 182-184, 341.
- Smith, Rev. John C., 212.
- Society for Propagating the Gospel, 2, 69, 74-81, 86, 122-141, 169, 282, 312-324, 335-340, 343, 345.
- Southern Churchman, The*, 69.
- Southgate, Rt. Rev. Horatio, 93, 227.
- Spalding, Rt. Rev. John F., 325-329.
- Spirit of Missions*, 98.
- Steele, Franklin, 298.
- Sterrett, Rev. J., 299.
- Stewart, Rt. Rev. George C., 309.
- Stewart, Rev. Marshall B., 220, 261, 263, 305.
- Stoupe, Rev. Peter, 324.
- Stuyvesant, Peter G., 161, 190.
- Sykes, James, 2-4.
- Sykes, Rev. Stephen, 5.
- Syle, Rev. E. W., 97.
- Talbot, Rt. Rev. Ethelbert, 106, 107, 110, 114, 117.
- Talbot, Rt. Rev. Joseph C., 105, 327.
- Tanner, Rev. George C., 288, 291, 293.
- Tatlow, Joseph, 2.
- Taylor, Rev. Frederick, 303.
- Taylor, Rev. Graham, 305.
- Ten Broeck, Rev. William P., 300.

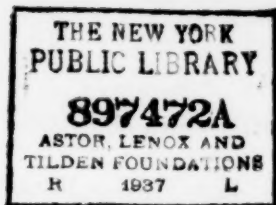
- Tenney, Rev. Albert F., 264.
 Theological Education Society, 150, 156.
 Thomas, Rt. Rev. Elisha, 292-296.
 Thomlinson, Thomas, 27-41.
 Thorne, Rev. Sydenham, 2-5.
 Tingley, Rev. Samuel, 2.
 Toffteen, Rev. Olaf, 304, 305.
 Trapier, Rev. Paul, 68, 187.
 Troutbeck, Rev. John, 87.
 Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, 83, 85, 87.
 Tucker, Joseph, 162.
 Turner, Rev. Samuel H., 149, 153-164,
 167-171, 174, 181, 188, 196, 198-
 207, 210, 238-240.
 Bibliography, 261.
 Tuttle, Rt. Rev. Daniel, 102-106, 114,
 115.
 Tyler, Rev. John, 91.
 Tyng, Rev. Stephen, 185.
 Tyson, Rev. Stuart, 304, 305.

 Vander Heyden, Rev. 117.
 Van Ingen, Rev. J. V., 282.
 Van Mehr, Rev. J. L., 93-96.
 Verplank, Hon. Julian C., 157, 169, 240,
 244, 261, 264.
 Vesey, Rev. William, 67.
 Vincent, Rt. Rev. Boyd, 334.
 Vinton, Rev. Francis, 175, 261, 264.
 Virginia Seminary, 155.
 Voigt, Rev. Edwin, 309.

 Walker, Rt. Rev. William, 70-72.
 Walpole, Rt. Rev. George, 261, 263.
 Walton, Rev. William, 263.
 Walworth, Rev. Clarence, 180.
 Washburn, Rev. Edward A., 142, 143.

 Watson, Rev. George H., 101.
 Webb, Rt. Rev. W. W., 346.
 Wells, Rev. Charles L., 299.
 Wells, Rt. Rev. Edward, 295.
 Wells, Rev. Lemuel, 99-101.
 Wentworth, Rev. John, 90.
 Wetmore, Rev. Robert G., 70.
 Wharton, Rev. Charles, 2-4.
 Wheeler, Dr. Tolman, 302, 308.
 Whipple, Rt. Rev. Henry B., 290-293,
 295, 297, 300, 310.
 Whitaker, Rt. Rev. Ozi, 101, 114.
 White, Andrew, 268.
 White, Rt. Rev. John H., 299.
 White, Rt. Rev. William, 3, 4, 6, 13, 18,
 66, 139, 140, 148-155, 158, 160, 164-
 168, 181, 225, 227, 266, 269, 273, 284,
 343, 344.
 Whitehead, Rt. Rev. Cortland, 328.
 Whitehouse, Rt. Rev. Henry, 175.
 Whittingham, Rt. Rev. William R., 161,
 163, 167, 169-171, 174-176, 181, 198,
 207, 208, 210, 262, 263, 341.
 Wight, Richard, 162.
 Wilcoxson, Rev., 286.
 Wilder, Hon. E. T., 295.
 Williams, Rev. Robert, 55, 56.
 Williston, Rev. Ralph, 9-13.
 Wilson, Rev. Bird, 149, 156-164, 181,
 188, 197, 200, 210, 263.
 Wilson, Rev. E. Stewart, 299.
 Wingfield, Rt. Rev. John H. D., 96.
 Wolfe, Gen., 317-319.
 Woodward, Rev. James A., 98.
 Wooster, Col. Thomas, 86.

 Young, Rev. Walter Ching, 97.



Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. V

MARCH, 1936

No. 1

THE DIOCESE OF DELAWARE

From Its Organization to the Election of Its First Bishop

By Edgar Legare Pennington

THE end of the Revolutionary War left the Church of England in the colonies in a sadly run-down condition. There were a few little parishes, mostly along the seaboard, from Maine to Georgia; but they had suffered great losses during the struggle. The Church was at a disadvantage because of its identification with the English cause; and there was a strong prejudice which even the definite American sympathies of some of the clergy could not dissipate.

Delaware was no exception. At Appoquinimink, the Rev. Philip Reading had been a decided loyalist. At the beginning of the War, he wrote home that "many are the rebuffs I am obliged to encounter on the subject of the present commotions, notwithstanding which I am not deterred or discouraged from inculcating the principles of Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign and a due submission to the Powers of Government on all proper occasions."¹ Threats were used to deter him from reading the prayers for the King; but he persisted in his course, notwithstanding the Declaration of Independence. At last, when threatenings became so prevalent as to endanger the safety of himself and his family, he explained to his congregation, July 28th, 1776, that since he could not read the liturgy according to the prescribed form without incurring the resentment of the people, he would declare the Church shut up for six weeks.² From that time, he continued to discharge the catechetical and parochial functions of his office, but never conducted public services. He died in 1778; and his Church remained vacant for several years.

¹Perry: *Historical Collections*, II., p. 469.

²*Ibid.*, p. 485.

The ministry of the Rev. Aeneas Ross, at New Castle, lasted through the Revolution. He was succeeded at Immanuel Church in 1784 by the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, who remained till 1788. Doctor Wharton later moved to Burlington, where he died in 1833. He was a man of considerable attainments and renowned as a preacher and scholar.³

Dover was probably vacant during the War. In 1786, the Rev. Samuel Roe was called as rector. He died February 8th, 1791; and his monument is in the churchyard.

The Rev. Samuel Tingley came to Lewes, in Sussex county, not later than 1776; and continued through the War. He was not in sympathy with the American cause; and he was subjected to many humiliations and discouragements. In 1782, he visited New York; and from there he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts:—"There was not one Clergyman of the Church officiating for a hundred miles in length except myself."⁴

In the measures taken shortly after the Revolution to unite and organize the Episcopal Church in the United States, the congregations of Delaware participated from the outset. The Convention which assembled in Philadelphia, September 27th to October 7th, 1785, was composed of clerical and lay deputies from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Delaware was represented by the Rev. Charles H. Wharton, D. D., and by Messrs. Thomas Duff, James Sykes, John Reece, Joseph Tatlow, Alexander Reynolds, and Robert Clay.

This Convention, as is well known, laid the foundations of the Protestant Episcopal Church as a national Church in the United States of America. It adopted an application to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, asking them to confer the Episcopal character upon such duly qualified persons, as should be recommended by this Church in the several States there represented. On the committee for the consideration of these momentous subjects were two Delaware representatives—Doctor Wharton and Mr. Sykes. Doctor Wharton received the thanks of the Convention for a sermon preached before them "On the duties of the Ministerial Office."⁵

At the General Convention, which met in Philadelphia, June 20th to June 26th, 1786, there were four present from Delaware—Doctor Wharton, the Rev. Sydenham Thorne, Mr. Robert Clay, and Mr. Nicholas Ridgely. It was then determined by ballot that Wilmington

³*Sprague: Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, pp. 335-342.

⁴*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering*, p. 29.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

should be the next meeting place.⁶ There was addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England an earnest application for the consecration to the episcopate of such qualified persons as should be recommended to them by the Church in the United States; and the Convention adjourned to meet in Wilmington, so as to receive the answer to this application and to proceed to the completion of the Church's organization.

Three months later a State Convention of the Delaware Church was held. In Bishop George Washington Doane's memoir of Doctor Wharton, we find the following:—

"There is in my possession the manuscript journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Delaware, held in Dover, on the 26th and 27th days of September, 1786, at which Dr. Wharton was present and presided, and, as President, was authorized to sign the recommendation to the Archbishops and Bishops of England."

Bishop Alfred Lee, in commenting on this statement, remarked that "we have, therefore, conclusive testimony as to the assemblage of the State Convention in 1786."⁷

The adjourned meeting of the General Convention which met in Philadelphia in June, 1786, was held in Wilmington, October 10th of that year—the only General Convention which has ever met in Delaware. There were ten clerical and twelve lay deputies present⁸ being deputies from six states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina. The Convention met in the Academy Hall, a building which stood on Market street between Eighth and Ninth, and which was later removed. The representatives attended service in the Old Swedes' Church, the sermon being preached by the Rev. Doctor Samuel Magaw, then rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, and formerly the incumbent of Dover. Delaware was represented by Doctor Wharton, the Rev. Sydenham Thorne, and Messrs. James Grantham and James Sykes.

This Convention took final action in regard to the correspondence with the English Archbishops, the forms of testimonials for those to be consecrated, and the objections made by the English Bishops to certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer. The testimonials of Samuel Provoost, William White, and David Griffith, who were to seek Episcopal ordination, were signed.⁸

The year 1786 is famous in the annals of the Delaware Church for still another reason. It was then that the Swedish missionaries

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷Alfred Lee: *Our Centenary. Tenth Charge of the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee*, p. 7.

⁸Alfred Lee: *Planting and Watering*, pp. 23-24.

asked to be recalled to their mother country, and thus terminate the dependence of their congregations upon a supply of ministers from abroad. The last of those missionaries at Trinity Church, Wilmington, was the Rev. Mr. Gerelius, who did not give up his ministrations until 1790. He was succeeded by Doctor Wharton, who was the first Anglican incumbent of that parish and who ministered there about two years before going to New Jersey.⁹

In 1788, the Rev. Robert Clay became rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle. He was born October 18th, 1749; and in early life was connected with an eminent mercantile house in Philadelphia. Ordained by the newly consecrated Bishop White in 1787, he proved "a fine reader of the Church service, and entertained an unblemished reputation." He died in December, 1831.¹⁰

The General Convention of October, 1789, was one of considerable importance. Then Bishop Seabury and the New England deputies acceded to the Constitution and came into union with the Convention. The Delaware deputies present were the Rev. Joseph Coudens (who was rector of North Elk parish, Maryland, but also served a Church in Delaware),¹¹ the Rev. Robert Clay, the Rev. Stephen Sykes, and James Sykes, a layman.

From the foregoing it is evident that Delaware was one of the most prominent participants in the organization of the Episcopal Church in America. At every General Convention she was represented by men of influence. With the development of the Church as a force in national life, it is seen that the Church in the state itself was acquiring strength and resources.

The first Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware was held in Dover, on Saturday, the third day of December, 1791. The call came from the Rev. John Bissett, of St. Anne's Church, Appoquinimink, and the vestry of Christ Church, Dover, and took the form of a circular letter, inviting the members of the Church in the state "to convene, for the purpose of framing and enacting a constitution, and promoting good government among the congregations of their society." The following list appears in the *Journal*:—

"NEWCASTLE COUNTY.

St. Anne's Church:

Rev. John Bissett.

Hon. Joshua Clayton, Esq.

Emanuel Church:

Kensey Johns, Esq.

St. James's Church:

Thomas Duff, Esq.

"KENT COUNTY.

Christ Church, Dover:

Hon. James Sykes, Esq.

⁹Alfred Lee: *Our Centenary. Tenth Charge of the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee*, p. 19.

¹⁰Sprague: *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 357.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 312.

Christ Church, Mispillion:
Rev. Sydenham Thorne.
Jehu Davis, Esq.

"SUSSEX COUNTY.

Christ Church:
Rev. William Skelley.
Mr. Jonathan Waller.

St. Matthew's Church:
Isaac Beauchamp, Esq.

Prince George's Church:
Mr. Samuel Dirickson.

St. George's Church:
Mr. Woodman Stockley.

St. Mary's Chapel:
Mr. William Bradley.

St. Peter's Church:
Phillips Kollock, Esq."

The members assembled; and the Rev. Mr. Bissett read prayers. "The certificates of the lay delegates being read, and judged satisfactory, they took their seats." The Rev. Sydenham Thorne was elected President, and the Rev. Mr. Bissett, Secretary. A committee of six members, three clerical and three lay, were appointed to report a Constitution for the Church. Next morning, the Hon. Joshua Clayton reported the Constitution and Canons; and after being read twice and considered by paragraphs, the Constitution and Canons were approved. The Convention then proceeded to elect delegates to attend the next General Convention (which was called for New York, the following September). A standing committee, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Thorne, Bissett, Clay, and Shelly, was appointed.¹² Bishop Lee has remarked that "this Convention compares favourably in members and efficiency with those that followed for some forty years."¹³

The Rev. John Bissett, who figured so prominently in this Convention, was born in Scotland about 1762. Having graduated at the University of Aberdeen, he came to this country and was ordained by Bishop Seabury in 1786. In 1789, he was rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Maryland; and was a member of the General Convention at Philadelphia that year. At the New York General Convention in 1792, he was elected its Secretary. Shortly afterwards, he became an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York. For some years, during his connection with Trinity, he held the professorship of Rhetoric and the Belles Lettres in Columbia College. Disappointed in a love affair, he took to drink, and was compelled to resign. He returned to his native country; and was recognized afterwards on the streets of London as "pale and emaciated," with the appearance of "a broken down gentleman." He died about 1810.¹⁴

From the Journal of the Convention of 1792 we gain some idea of the strength of the Church in Delaware. The Rev. Joseph Clark-

¹²*Journal of the proceedings of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, held in Dover, on Saturday, the third day of December, 1791.*

¹³*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, p. 48.*

¹⁴*Sprague: Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit, p. 443.*

son (1766-1830) had become rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington (the Old Swedes' Church); and he reported 500 adult members. Christ Church, Sussex, reported 476 adults and 109 communicants; St. Peter's Church reported 186 adults; and St. George's Church, 200.¹⁵

The Convention called for Dover in September, 1793, was not held because "of the UNCOMMON sickliness of the season, and other unavoidable concurring circumstances." But on December 16th, 1794, the members convened at Dover; and the Rev. Mr. Clarkson was elected President. At this Convention there was a report of 63 confirmations by Bishop White of Pennsylvania, at Trinity Church, Wilmington—the first recorded confirmations in Delaware. A Canon was adopted, as follows:—

"Whereas the deportment of its ministers has a powerful influence upon the Church—Therefore, the practice of playing at cards, or dice tables—the practice of frequenting ball-rooms, or any assemblies convened for vicious or unseemly diversions, is prohibited, as degrading the clerical profession."¹⁶

All the State Conventions were held at Dover until 1796, when a Convention was held in Lewis-Town, May 3rd. The clerical and lay delegates assembled in St. Peter's Church; and divine service was performed by the Rev. William Pryce, of Christ Church, Mispillion. The Rev. George Dashiell, of St. Anne's Church, Appoquinimink, preached the sermon. As usual, the various churches were asked to report the number of adult members, the baptisms, marriages, and funerals, as well as communicants; and there was the same inability to give accurate figures which marked the earlier assemblies. Trinity Church, Wilmington, continued to report 500 adults.¹⁷

The Convention of 1797 was held at Middle-Town, in St. Anne's Church. A committee was appointed "to receive all moneys collected from the different Churches in this State—to be appropriated towards the support of missionaries to preach the gospel—and to defray incidental expenses." It was resolved also that "a respectful address be drawn up by the standing committee, and presented to the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Penn-

¹⁵*Journal of the proceedings of the Second Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Dover, on Tuesday, the eighteenth day of December, 1792.*

¹⁶*Journal of the proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Dover, on Tuesday, the sixteenth day of December, 1794.*

¹⁷*Journal of the proceedings of the Sixth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Lewis-Town, on Tuesday, the third day of May, 1796.*

sylvania, requesting him to visit this State, for the purpose of administering the Apostolic rite of confirmation among the different congregations."¹⁸

At the tenth Convention, held in Dover, May 6th, 1800, only four clergymen were present; the requisition for "defraying the expenses of delegates to the General Convention and incidental charges," which had been a regular assessment since 1796, brought in no more than \$16. It was voted to reduce the assessment on each vestry from \$8 to \$4. The article of the Constitution, requiring the standing committee to consist of four regularly settled and officiating clergymen, was discussed as presenting "an insurmountable difficulty"; and it was proposed that the next Convention should change the membership of that body to two.

The Journals of the next few years present a forlorn picture. Sometimes no more than three clergymen were in attendance; and one year there was left the sum of \$8 in the treasury after paying the expenses of the delegates and printing the Journal. Efforts to broaden the work were recorded in 1802, when it was resolved "that it shall be the duty of the Clergy in this church, to visit and preach in such vacant churches as may be in their respective counties, on the first Friday in every month"; and "that it be recommended to the different congregations, who are not regularly supplied with a minister, to meet, on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and appoint some proper person or persons, to perform divine service, and read a sermon from some approved author."¹⁹

At the Convention of 1803, the Rev. William Pryce was appointed to attend the next Convention of the Diocese of Maryland and propose, "if deemed expedient by that Convention, that we cheerfully join and associate with the same, for the purpose of electing a Bishop for the Eastern Shore of Maryland and the State of Delaware."²⁰ The Rt. Rev. Thomas John Claggett (1742-1816) was at that time Bishop of Maryland, having been consecrated the 17th of September, 1792, by Bishop Provoost of New York, Bishop White of Pennsylvania, Bishop Madison of Virginia, and Bishop Seabury of Connecticut; and being the first Bishop consecrated on American soil. The following year (1804), Mr. Pryce reported that he had attended the Maryland Convention as instructed, and had been received with attention and politeness; but that the said Convention "deemed a

¹⁸*Journal of the proceedings of the Seventh Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held at Middle-Town on Tuesday, the second day of May, 1797.*

¹⁹*Journal of the proceedings of the Twelfth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Lewes-Town on the first Tuesday in May, A. D. 1802.*

²⁰*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, p. 28.*

union of the two Dioceses at this time premature and inexpedient." Bishop Claggett had promised, however, to visit the congregations of Delaware as often as his extensive duties and infirm health would permit. The Convention of Delaware forthwith proceeded to put their Diocese under the charge of Bishop Claggett. Bishop Lee notes that he has not found any record of episcopal acts performed by Bishop Claggett in consequence of this step.²¹ There is reason to believe that he once held confirmations at St. Paul's Church, Black Swamp.

The Church seemed steadily to decline for the next few years. No conventions assembled from 1811 to 1816. In 1814, there were two Delaware deputies at the General Convention—the Rev. Messrs. Pryce and Clay. They reported that "the condition of the Church in this State is truly distressing and the prospect gloomy. There is, however, an increasing anxiety manifested for obtaining clergymen. Some of the vacant congregations have the service performed on Sundays by laymen. Where the Lord's Supper has been administered by visiting clergymen, the communicants have been numerous."²² At the General Convention of 1817, there was still small evidence of improvement in Delaware. Only one clerical deputy attended—the Rev. William Wickes; there was no layman. The report was rather forlorn: "There are the remains of eleven congregations, but only two of them are supplied with ministers." Yet within the last eighteen months, it was said, four young men "of piety and talent" had been admitted as candidates for orders; furthermore, an Episcopal Missionary Society had been established at Wilmington.²³

There was a Convention of the State of Delaware held in 1818; and the delegates passed a resolution "highly disapproving of theatres, public balls, gaming, and every species of dissipation," and urging members of the Church "to avoid indulging in the use of vinous or spirituous liquors."²⁴

Two clerical and two lay deputies attended the General Convention of 1820, which was held in Philadelphia. At that time the tone of the Delaware report was more encouraging. "Several churches had been repaired and had received considerable additions of families and communicants. There are 14 churches, most of which have regular services, and those not thus favoured are visited occasionally by the clergy of the State. The Conventions have been better attended. On the whole we have great reason to be thankful." Yet, on the other hand, there were only four officiating clergymen and about two hundred communicants.²⁵

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 28.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 25.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26.

At the State Convention of 1821 the Rev. Richard D. Hall reported the prosperous condition of Trinity Church, Wilmington. There were 170 communicants. But, says Bishop Lee, "this bright gleam does not seem to have extended much beyond Wilmington."²⁶

Only two clergymen and eleven laymen were present at the Convention at Dover, June 7th, 1823. The Rev. Daniel Higbee, "minister of St. Paul's Church, Georgetown; St. George's Chapel; St. Peter's Church, Lewes; Prince George's Church; Christ Church, Laurel; and St. John's Church," preached the convention sermon. The Rev. Ralph Williston, "minister of the congregation at Wilmington," reported that during the year he had:—

"Holy Communion.....	18
Baptised, adults.....	4
children.....	7
Joined in Holy Matrimony.....	9 couple (sic)
There are communicants, about.....	200
And in the Sunday schools there are....	— boys
	and 120 girls."

Mr. Williston made a survey of his work, which is quite instructive.

"Although nothing of very remarkable occurrence can be noted in this report, as having a bearing on the interests of Trinity congregation; yet it is proper to remark that brotherly love has prevailed and continually influenced both the pastor and people, and they have dwelt together, aiming at the glory of the *God of peace*, with peace and cordiality. The regularity and apparent piety with which the Holy Sacrament has been approached by the communicants has been a source of heartfelt satisfaction to their Rector—most of the seasons of communion have been peculiarly solemn, and demand the renewed expression of our gratitude and praise for the Divine favour which has attended those occasions."

He pointed to the need "in this Diocese" of at least two or three missionaries. "The finger of God, on the dial of time, points to the swiftly passing hours of duty, and conveys this awful admonition: 'Work, while it is called today; the night cometh, when no man can work.'"

He proceeded to review his work, and showed that he had been something of a diocesan missionary himself.

"The labours of the Rector of Trinity church, during the past year, have been excessive. He has, almost in-

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 29.

variably, performed service, and preached three times on every Sunday, and three times, statedly, during the week. Sunday morning in Trinity Church, at three P. M. in Emanuel Church, Newcastle, and at night in the borough of Wilmington—on Tuesday night at Newcastle, and on Wednesday and Friday nights in Wilmington—besides, occasionally, at Brandywine and at several neighbouring school houses. He has visited, performed Divine service, and preached twice at St. James' Church, where he has found a numerous, respectable and attentative (sic) congregation. This congregation has erected a new, commodious stone church, which will soon be ready for consecration—Emanuel Church has been consecrated by the right reverend Bishop Kemp, and the reverend Mr. Bedell, all of whom preached on the occasion. Divine service is performed, and the Holy Sacraments duly administered in this church—and the expectation is entertained of the growing prosperity of its congregation. Great harmony subsists between the several congregations of Newcastle, all agreeing to *let brotherly love continue.*"

Mr. Williston paid a high tribute to the Rev. Robert Clay, rector of Immanuel Church, Newcastle, and St. James's, Staunton. "It must be truly gratifying to the reverend gentleman, now advanced in years, to witness the flattering prospects of a church over which he has presided *many years*. Altho' he may have only *sowed and another shall reap*; yet, he that sowed and he that reapeth, may both rejoice together, hereafter, in the kingdom of God. The foundation is laid to produce inestimable advantages to the careless, the ignorant, the vicious; to teach them to seek for solid, perfect, and eternal happiness; to reclaim many a wanderer from the ways of folly, and crime, and shame, and destruction; to render them acquainted with a Saviour who has boundless love and power; and to guide them in the *narrow way*, which leadeth unto life."

The progress of the Sunday-school was noted by Mr. Williston. This feature of parish activity was still in its experimental stage, and many churches looked on it with indifference. In Delaware, however, "much praise is due to the ladies and gentlemen who have the management of the Sundy (sic) schools. This is an institution which cannot receive too great attention and aid. The good done in these schools is incalculable."

In closing his remarks, Mr. Williston observed that "when we survey the state and condition of our church in this diocess there are many circumstances which are calculated to excite gloomy apprehensions"; but he trusted in the Lord's promise to be with His Church always. "Future ages will rejoice over our labours, when our Zion shall be the praise of our land. Life is short—and no one knows, when

the Lord will call him to account. Let us then, as faithful stewards, employ the talents entrusted to us, that, when we depart hence, we may take with us the cheering assurance of having employed the means, which God has granted us, toward rearing a more pious, more virtuous, and more happy generation, to occupy our places in his church."

The Rev. Mr. Higbee reported that he still confined his attention to the churches in Sussex county; and he submitted the following statistics.

St. Paul's Church, Georgetown:

Families, about.....	20 or 25
Communicants.....	10
Baptisms.....	2

Prince George's Church, Dagsborough:

Families, about.....	40
Communicants, about...	20
Baptisms.....	5
Funerals.....	1

St. George's Chapel:

Families, about.....	30
Communicants.....	25 or 30
Baptisms.....	7
Funerals.....	3
Marriages.....	1

Christ Church, Laurel:

Families, about.....	50
Communicants, about...	15 or 20
Baptisms.....	10
Marriages.....	1

St. Peter's Church, Lewestown:

Families, about.....	25 or 30
Communicants.....	20
Baptisms.....	1
Funerals.....	1
Marriages.....	1

St. John's Church, Little-Hill:

Families, about.....	20
Communicants.....	10
Baptisms.....	10
Funerals.....	2

Mr. Higbee said "that there is no apparent change since the meeting of the last Convention. A surprising indifference as to the welfare of our Church too generally prevails in the congregations; but still there are some members in the churches, who manifest a laudable zeal for the institutions of our venerable and Apostolic Church."

A committee recommended the adoption of a constitution for "the missionary society of the diocese of Delaware, auxiliary to the domestic and foreign missionary society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The object of the Delaware society was "to employ and support missionaries, and to supply with Christian ordinances, such places within the diocese as may be destitute of a regular ministry; and the surplus, if any, funds shall be transmitted to the parent society, to be applied to domestic missions." The Rev. Mr. Williston submitted an address, expressing great satisfaction at the formation of this auxiliary missionary society. "Henceforth," he said, "our diocese will not be a stranger to that great and all important association, whose object is to aid in evangelizing the whole human family—Our diocese has become auxiliary to that institution

with great eagerness. And it is hoped, that our opulent families will duly feel that they cannot make a better use of their money, than by generous donations, to contribute towards the promulgation of the Holy Gospel, and due administration of the Holy Sacraments."²⁷

At the 1824 diocesan Convention, held in Christ Church, Dover the Rev. Stephen Wilson Presstman was present. He served as rector of Immanuel Church, Newcastle, from 1824 to 1843. The Rev. Mr. Williston reported his visits to Middletown, Smyrna, Dover, Georgetown, Cedar Creek, and Milford, in his capacity as a member of the standing committee. The consecration of St. James's Church, Staunton, by Bishop White of Pennsylvania, was noted; also the resignation of the Rev. Robert Clay, who had seen the two churches under his pastoral care "rebuilt and ornamented, and thus happily provided with a successor." It was observed that "the prospects of the Episcopal church in the county of Newcastle are, on the whole, encouraging. The churches are well attended; and, it is trusted, there is an increased attention to religion." It was intimated that the loose conversation of professed Christians was discrediting religion and obstructing the growth of the Church. A canon was adopted, making it the duty of each resident officiating minister "to cause collections to be made in aid of the Missionary Fund, at least twice in every year"; the sum collected to be paid to the Treasurer of the Missionary Society.

At the same time, the newly formed auxiliary Missionary Society held its meeting in Christ Church, Dover. The following churches were designated as missionary stations, to be aided by the Society—Milford and Cedar Creek; Lewestown, Georgetown, and St. George's Chapel, Laurel, Little-Hill, and Dagsborough; and St. Ann's Church, Middletown. At this, the anniversary meeting, the Board of Directors included a stirring appeal in their report; and called on every parish "destitute of stated ministrations" to rally and ascertain what might be done toward the support of a pastor and make an annual statement of the same to the Board, which would, if possible, "make up the deficiency, until every parish shall be supplied with a regular pastor." The Rev. Mr. Williston, President of the Society, said:—

"True it is that our church in this State presents a widespread desolation and famine. These render our exertions the more necessary. There must be a series of acts; a trial

²⁷*Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, held at Dover, in June, 1823. (The date of the consecration of Immanuel Church, New Castle, by Bishop White of Pennsylvania and Bishop Kemp of Maryland, was Tuesday, October 29, 1822.)*

of perseverance—And we should crowd as many acts and as much effect as possible into the space of every year.”²⁸

At the Convention which met at New Castle, August 13th, 1825, the Rev. Daniel Higbee, minister of St. Paul’s Church, Georgetown; St. Peter’s, Lewestown; and St. George’s Chapel, reported that “these Congregations continue much in the same state they have been in for some years past. Some due regard is paid to the ceremonies and external ordinances of our venerable church; but at the same time it is most evident that the religion of Jesus Christ has lost its commanding influence over the hearts and lives of too many amongst us:—we ‘have a name to live and yet are dead.’” The Rev. Mr. Prestman, of New Castle and Staunton, said that his congregations were “regular in their attendance upon divine service; giving ear to the word of God with such seriousness, as encourages the hope that the day of their visitation draweth nigh. There has been a gradual increase in both congregations.” The Rev. Mr. Williston, of Trinity, Wilmington, seemed discouraged “The disabilities under which we labor,” he said, “are peculiarly great and discouraging. An old Church, in bad condition, at a distance from the Borough, and of difficult access for a great part of the year—together with unsuccessful efforts repeatedly made to obtain a Church within the Borough—are obstacles in the way of our prosperity, truly appalling.”

At the request of the standing committee Bishop White had performed the necessary episcopal duties in the diocese of Delaware. When the Rt. Rev. Henry Ustick Onderdonk was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, October 25th, 1827, Doctor White was more than seventy-nine years old. Bishop Onderdonk was deputed to visit Delaware; and at the 1829 Convention he reported his visitation to the lower part of the state.

“On the 16th of March (1829) I entered your state from the lower part of the Eastern Shore of Maryland; on the 17th I visited and preached in Prince George’s Church, Dagsborough, in the morning, St. John’s, Little Hill, afternoon; on the 18th, Christ Church, Laurel, morning, St. Paul’s Church, Georgetown, evening; on the 19th, St. Paul’s, Georgetown, morning, St. George’s Chapel, afternoon, St. Peter’s, Lewes, evening; on the 20th, St. Peter’s, Lewes; on the 21st, Dover, evening; on Sunday, 22d, Dover, morning, St. Peter’s, Smyrna, evening; on the 23d, Emanuel Church, Newcastle, evening.

“On Sunday, May 31, I visited and preached in Trinity Church, Wilmington, in the morning; and in the place temporarily occupied for worship in town by that congrega-

²⁸*Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, held at Dover, June 5, 1824.*

tion, in the afternoon. In the evening of the same day I preached to the new Episcopal Congregation, formed last year in that Borough, by the name of St. Andrew's Church. The following confirmations have been held, viz.—Dagsborough, 1 person; Laurel, 4 persons; Georgetown, 5; Lewes, 17. The above were the first administrations of this rite in the County of Sussex. In Trinity Church, Wilmington, 20 persons were confirmed. The congregation of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, are erecting a church, and Trinity Church is about erecting an additional place of worship in the town. By request of the vestries, respectively, I consecrated, in March last, the following churches—Christ Church, Laurel; St. George's Chapel, and St. Peter's Church, Lewes; all in Sussex County. In the course of these visits I have twice administered the rite of baptism. I have everywhere been again received with the most respectful attention and kind hospitality, which I take this opportunity of gratefully recording."²⁹

The Rev. Isaac Pardee, who had entered on his duties as rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington, September 25th, 1828, was present at the Convention, and made an encouraging report.

"From the commencement of the present Rector's labors it has been a source of great gratification to see the congregation constantly increasing in numbers. It has now become large and is in a very prosperous state. This society has, however, experienced no small disadvantage from the location of their church. It is some distance from the Town, and at some seasons of the year scarcely accessible. The congregations have, however, resolved to remedy the difficulty by the erection of a commodious building in the Town. For their liberality and zeal in the prosecution of this measure they deserve great credit. The building is to be commenced immediately. The Sunday school which has long been attached to this church is now large and very prosperous. The Rector has, when other Parochial duties did not interfere, attended the school, and has occasionally instructed the children in the catechism of the church. There has also been a bible class during the past winter attached to this church. The members have been numerous and attentive, and the class proves highly beneficial."³⁰

On June 12th, 1830, the Convention met at St. Peter's Church, Smyrna. It was the first Delaware convention at which a Bishop was present. Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk took the chair. After the roll call, a communication was read from Bishop White. "If it should

²⁹*Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Delaware, held at New Castle, August 13, 1825.*

³⁰*Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the state of Delaware, commenced and held at Dover, June 6, 1829.*

be recollected," he said, "that during a course of forty three years I have complied with every desire made known to me for the performance of any Episcopal Service in your State, I trust I shall not be charged with the want of regard for the Church in Delaware, when I suggest that for any present or future duties of this sort as for the like in Pennsylvania beyond the vicinity of this city (Philadelphia), it will not be unreasonable for me to devolve them on my Rt. Rev. Brother, the Assistant Bishop of this Diocess, who contemplates presiding in your ensuing Convention, and for whom provision has been made with a severance from parochial connexion. My late time of life, and the parochial duties still lying on me, will I trust be my excuse for my thus limiting of my discharge of Episcopal duties in future." He closed with his best wishes and prayers for the prosperity of the Church in Delaware. In a postscript, he said that on the 1st of October last he "consecrated to the service of God, St. Andrew's Church, in the Borough of Wilmington."

Bishop Onderdonk delivered his address. He told of his official acts, namely, consecrating Trinity Chapel in the Borough of Wilmington (April 6th, 1830); and visiting New Castle, Staunton, Wilmington, Smyrna, and Middletown. He concluded with an appeal for diocesan missions. The clergy list of 1830 shows six names. Fifteen churches and chapels are listed.³¹

The Convention of 1832 was presided over by Bishop White; it was the only occasion on which that venerable man officiated at a Delaware convention. Bishop Onderdonk was then visiting a remote district of Pennsylvania; but he forwarded a report of his third visitation to Delaware, showing that he had confirmed thirty-seven.³²

Bishop Onderdonk presided over the Convention of 1834; and delivered a charge to the clergy, under the title "Less and Greater Duties." The Bishop reported quite a number of confirmations in Sussex county; and said that the Rev. Joseph Glover had entered upon his labours as a missionary at Seaford, Laurel, and vicinity. This was the first appointment of a missionary in Delaware since the abandonment of the field by the S. P. G. Mr. Glover promised good results; but he died August 19th, 1834, and was unable to fulfil his plans. He was buried in the churchyard at Seaford.³³

On the 27th of April, 1835, Bishop Onderdonk ordained a priest in St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington—the Rev. William C. Russell, rector of that Church.³⁴ We know of no earlier ordination in Dela-

³¹*Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Delaware, held at St. Peter's Church, Smyrna, Saturday, June 12, 1830.*

³²*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, pp. 29-30.*

³³*Ibid., p. 30.*

³⁴*Ibid., p. 30.*

ware. The Convention of that year was held at Immanuel Church, New Castle, June 6th. The evidence of progress is apparent. In 1835, there were seven clergymen officiating in the state. Several changes had taken place. The Rev. Hiram Adams had succeeded Mr. Pardee as rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington. The Rev. Corry Chambers had take the late Mr. Glover's place, as missionary in Sussex county.

The new rector of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, reported that there were about forty families connected with that Church. "The Monthly Missionary Concert of prayer is held on the first Monday evening in the month, and the congregation much interested on the subject of missions." There were 93 registered communicants; and, since April, there were twenty-one individuals confirmed. "A Parochial Library has within a short time been formed, it now contains about 100 volumes of practical works, which will be a matter of interest and profit to the congregation. The Sunday School is a very interesting department of the Pastor's labours, it is under his entire control, and he devotes the whole of Sunday afternoon to its superintendence. There are 25 teachers, male and female, and 260 scholars on the register; about 150 to 175 of that number attend every Sunday. There are 370 volumes in the S. S. Library. The exercises of the School close at 3 o'clock, when the exercises of the Children's Church commences, which continue about one hour; the scholars of the Sunday and Infant school, and the Bible Class meet in the Lecture Room and form the congregation of the establishment, the exercises are adapted to the children and they are much interested in them. . . . Lectures are occasionally given to the children during the week, on Scriptural subjects, when nearly every scholar has been present, with many of their parents and others. The Sunday School Missionary Society will contribute about \$60 this year to Foreign Missions."³⁵

Bishop Onderdonk presided at the next Convention, which was held in St. Peter's Church, Lewes, June 4th, 1836. He reported that on the 26th of January, he had consecrated Christ Church, Milford. "This edifice, after remaining unfinished nearly half a century, has been handsomely remodelled and completed; and the congregation, after a long period of prostration, and, almost, indeed, of dissolution, has sprung into fresh existence and vigour, respectable in numbers, and zealous and persevering in character. The whole change in this parish reflects credit on their indefatigable minister, the Rev. Corry Chambers, and his able and efficient coadjutors among the laity." The Bishop took this opportunity to commend the Missionary So-

³⁵*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, 1835.*

ciety, as persevering in its very useful labours and worthy of the most zealous affection and patronage. "It has already been the instrument, under God, of the resuscitation or improvement of five of the southern parishes, and has the prospect of doing more for them and for the diocese." He stated that "a building has been purchased, near the northern line of the State, which is to be appropriated to the worship of God, under the name of Grace Church. And a subscription has been made which justifies the hope that an Episcopal House of Worship will be erected at Seaford."

The Rev. Mr. Chambers, missionary for the Society, gave a report of his activities. He had officiated at Christ Church, Broad Creek, where the congregation was "sincerely attached to the church, and regular in attendance, except in winter, when a want of stoves, &c., renders it almost impossible to occupy the building. He said that he had organized St. Luke's Church, Seaford, last year; "the old churches in this neighbourhood having long since gone to ruin, viz: that of Johnstown and Chapel Branch." At present, divine worship was being held in a "meeting house, built on the Union plan"; and since the church was organized, there had been three children baptized, seventeen communicants added, and eight confirmed. The attendance was very regular, "though many come seven or ten miles"; and thus, "though the old buildings have long since disappeared in this neighbourhood, yet a remnant of the congregations still can be found, who have lived through the winter of her ages, and rejoice to see her once more revive. I hope," he added, "the liberality of our friends not only in Delaware, but also in the other States of the Union, will contribute their mite to build a new church, and, like the good Samaritan, bind up her wounds."

Of St. Matthew's Church, Cedar Creek, Mr. Chambers said:—

"This church is about five miles from Milford, and was in the uninterrupted possession of swallows and wild birds to build their nests in, without a pane of glass in the windows, when I arrived last year; neither could I find one in the surrounding neighbourhood who knew the name of the church, save *the Old Church at Cedar Creek*. I at length found the name in an old Conventional report at Milford. This church has been repaired, and consecrated by the Right Reverend Bishop Onderdonk, on the 29th ulto." (May 29th).

He had gathered a congregation of about eighteen there; but he felt that their continuance depended on constant preaching, and that the flock, without a shepherd, would undoubtedly wander.

Mr. Chambers told of his arrival at Milford, in May, 1835, when he did not find six persons who would even call themselves Episco-

palians; and when he introduced himself as recommended by his Bishop and the Diocesan Missionary Society, "so completely had the old congregation disappeared, that few could be found to whom (he) would be recommended on such an errand." The Church of Milford, forty years unfinished, might be called, in the literal sense, "a cage for every unclean bird."

"This being the widest breach in the walls of our Zion, in it I determined to stand, and with God's assistance, build it up—knowing that we can do all things, Christ assisting us. I therefore commenced my work commending myself and my cause unto Him. From this place I attended my other churches, on the appointed day of preaching; but, resolved to build and restore Christ Church, during the time I was discharged from the others; I, therefore, commenced a subscription at Lewes, Dover, Smyrna, New Castle and Wilmington, to inspire my new friends at Milford with courage, that our christian friends abroad would render them some assistance—this had, in a great measure, the desired effect, and I succeeded in finishing the church at nearly twelve hundred dollars expense, about three hundred dollars of which, I have yet to seek from the liberal and benevolent friends of our church."

From this small beginning, Mr. Chambers could now count at Milford "forty families of constant worshippers, comprehending 105 adults and 59 children." He had a Sunday school there, of 18 teachers and 113 scholars.³⁶

At the 1837 Convention, held in Christ Church, Milford, June 3rd, Bishop Onderdonk spoke of the death of Bishop White (July 17th, 1836)—"the venerable father in Christ who for several years had been the ecclesiastical head of this diocese. Although this honour and charge were conferred on him at a very advanced period of his life, when his infirmities disabled him from much active duty, he performed for you some offices of this kind; besides giving you the general superintendence that required no personal labour. He has left to our whole church the legacy of a bright example; and it behoves us all to emulate his virtues in private life, his piety as a Christian, and his fidelity in all his public relations."

Bishop Onderdonk reported having consecrated Grace Church, Brandywine Hundred, June 11th, 1837. "This is a small building, formerly used as a school-house, but now neatly fitted and arranged for our services."

Being unable, on account of the stormy weather, to discharge

³⁶*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Delaware, held in St. Peter's Church, Lewes, Saturday, June 4, 1836.*

his Episcopal functions in some of the parishes, he had requested the Rt. Rev. William Murray Stone (1779-1838), Bishop of Maryland, to visit the field covered by the Rev. Mr. Chambers. Bishop Stone had thereupon visited Laurel and Seaford, confirming 17 persons at the former place and four at the latter.

At this Convention, it was reported that the Rev. William C. Russell had resigned the rectorship of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, on account of ill health; and that the Rev. Charles E. Pleasants had resigned the charge of Lewes, Georgetown, Dagsborough, and St. George's Chapel.

The Rev. Mr. Chambers' report to the 1837 Convention was very interesting and encouraging. He told of his efforts to raise money to carry on his work and to relieve the congregations of debt; he spoke of the Sunday school he had started in the town of Laurel, and of the Church at Cedar Creek, "left open to every abuse." St. John's Church, Little Hill, was used only for Saturday services in summer.

"This church was built, as far as it now is, by the pious efforts of the Rev. Hamilton Bell, of Laurel, who was called from his earthly duties more than twenty-six years ago; and was designed for the accommodation of those in the neighborhood of the Cyprus Swamp, none of whom are even moderately wealthy; the church remained since that time without either windows or pews, having window shutters to defend it from the storm. The surrounding country is extremely unhealthy in the fall, even to those who are acclimated, and therefore offers no inducement for wealthy people to settle in it. There are upwards of forty families who would attach themselves to this church."

Christ Church, Dover, the scene of so many of the early conventions, had at this time become a missionary station, with an appropriated salary from the Domestic Missionary Society of \$250. Mr. Chambers felt that the congregation should subscribe an equally large sum before a missionary could be expected; and he had started raising subscriptions for that purpose. "The church of Dover is 130 years old, not much out of repair, the rent of a small glebe has generally met these expenses."

Of St. Paul's Church, Black Swamp, Mr. Chambers said:—

" . . . Probably one of the first churches in Delaware, where Episcopal acts were performed; the Right Rev. Bishop Claggett, I am informed, having once held a confirmation here, when visiting the neighboring parishes on the Eastern shore of Maryland. This church is now in ruins, but the zealous missionary will soon overcome these difficulties, im-

pressed with an assurance *that in his short journey through life, if his footsteps are traced by the congregations he has revived and the churches he has built, he transmits to posterity a more lasting monument of his fame than he who conquers an Empire.*"³⁷

The forty-eighth annual Convention was held in St. Ann's Church, Middletown, on Wednesday, the 30th of May, 1838. Eight clergymen appeared on the roster, and fourteen churches were represented by lay delegates. Bishop Onderdonk presided. As evidence of progress, he told of two candidates for Holy Orders within the diocese, and of the supplying of certain vacant churches. The death of the Rev. William C. Russell, formerly of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, was noted with sorrow; he had died October 12th, 1837, "at an early stage of a most promising career of pastoral usefulness; leaving a good name, worthy to be had in remembrance." The death of Bishop Stone, Maryland (February 26th, 1838), was recorded with deep regret. "He formerly had charge, for many years, of some of the parishes in the lower part of this diocese," said Bishop Onderdonk; and in two of them he administered confirmation in 1836.

On the second day of the Convention, May 31st, Bishop Onderdonk ordained three deacons to the priesthood: the Rev. John Linn McKim, who was officiating at Lewes, Georgetown, St. George's, Indian River, and Dagsborough; the Rev. William Nelson Pendleton, professor of the college at Newark, of which another Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Richard Mason, D. D., was president; and the Rev. William James Clark, the new incumbent of St. Andrew's, Wilmington.

The Rev. Mr. Clark reported that he had assumed charge of St. Andrew's, September 3rd, 1837. "Few churches have had greater obstacles to contend with, and few have been blessed more fully in proportion to their difficulties. Commenced under auspices decidedly unfavourable, their building, it was at one time feared, must be abandoned; but God graciously interposed in our behalf, and we have taken our stand among our sister churches in a holy emulation to glorify our God and Saviour. . . . A new and larger organ has been completed, and will be erected this week. The citizens of Wilmington, without any religious distinction, have proposed the erection of a steeple, 150 feet elevation, to be attached to St. Andrew's, as occupying the highest point of ground. The amount at present subscribed is about \$1,200; the probable cost at about \$3,000 or \$4,000. Thos. U. Walters, the architect of the Girard College, has

³⁷*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the Diocese of Delaware, held in Christ's Church, Milford, on Saturday, the 3d of June, 1837.*

prepared us a beautiful and chaste design. Should this valuable addition be erected, the church will be enlarged 20 or 25 feet; a measure that would seem to be called for by the crowded state of our congregation. One of the finest of the Spanish bells, lately imported into New York, has been purchased at an expense of \$230, and suspended temporarily in the churchyard. The services on Sunday are well attended, and more attentive congregations the Rector has never seen. The increase in the number of young men is very great. Little fruit at present appears of his labors. The additions have been few, and they chiefly from among the young."

Mr. Clark also submitted an account of Grace Church, New Castle County, in which he expressed his gratification "that this humble attempt to build up an Episcopal congregation in a section where our Service has seldom been used, has met with decided success. It was originally a small school-house, but by the zealous efforts of one or two friends of the Church it was fitted up as an Episcopal church in miniature, and consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk. The building is so crowded on Sunday, that it is entirely too small to accommodate the congregation."

The Rev. Corry Chambers, the diocesan missionary, reported nearly fifty families at Christ's Church, Broad Creek. A Sunday school had been started at Laurel and left under the care of a candidate for Holy Orders there, but some of the people objected to the name of the school; so he withdrew from it, and there was no Sunday school of any kind in that place. Services were still held in a union meeting-house at Seaford; but construction is going forward on the new church. At Milford, the church, on the whole, has "a more lasting foundation" than hitherto; "several of those families that have joined are respectable farmers near town, so that she is 'lengthening her cords, and strengthening her stakes.'"

At the diocesan Convention of 1839, the Rev. Mr. Presstman presented to Bishop Onderdonk "a piece of plate as a memento of his long, diligent, and successful labours in this Diocese, and as an expression of the gratitude of the Protestant Episcopal church in Delaware."³⁸

It was noted in the report that St. Luke's building still "remained unfinished, after liberal and strenuous efforts to complete it, and after disappointment in what was deemed a most promising attempt to collect the requisite funds." There were some further changes in the staff of clergy. The Rev. John W. McCullough, deacon of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, had been transferred to Dela-

³⁸*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the Diocese of Delaware, held in St. Ann's Church, Middletown, on Wednesday, the 20th of May, 1838.*

were September 12th, 1838, and had become rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington. On the 3rd of December, Bishop Onderdonk ordained him priest in Trinity Chapel. The Rev. William J. Clark had resigned the rectorship of St. Andrew's, Wilmington; he was succeeded by the Rev. John V. Thorn, also transferred from the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The faithful rural missionary, the Rev. Corry Chambers, had moved to the Diocese of Maryland. The Rev. Archibald T. K. McCallum, deacon, was chosen minister of Grace Church, Brandywine Hundred, March 3rd. The Rev. John L. McKim, of Lewes, Georgetown, St. George's, and Dagsborough, had been transferred to Pennsylvania. The day of the Convention the Bishop was informed that the Rev. Mr. Thorn had resigned St. Andrew's, Wilmington. The lower half of the Diocese was entirely without clergymen; and the Bishop declared that "this fact may require greater vigour in your missionary operations; as it certainly requires our fervent intercessions to the divine Head of the church."

There were signs of friction among the clergy. In April, the Bishop had visited the Diocese because the Rev. Mr. Thorn and six communicants of St. Andrew's Church had made a presentment against the Rev. Mr. McCullough, of Trinity, Wilmington. After deliberation, the standing committee, on the Bishop's advice, dismissed the presentment for insufficiency. The Bishop ruled that no clergyman residing in a parish should be presented by the vestry or communicants of another parish. Next month, the vestry of Trinity Church preferred charges against the Rev. Mr. Thorn, of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, based on public rumor. Thereupon Bishop Onderdonk appointed a board of inquiry.³⁹ The charges were evidently dismissed, as Mr. Thorn remained on the clergy list for several years afterward.

At the next Convention, held at Milford, May 27th, 1840, there were eight clergymen present, besides Bishop Onderdonk, and seventeen laymen. The Rev. John Reynolds had been transferred from the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and was put in charge of Christ Church, Milford, and St. Matthew's Church, Cedar Creek. The Rev. Corry Chambers, formerly diocesan missionary, had returned to Delaware, and was rector of St. James Church, Staunton. The Rev. Henry F. M. Whitesides, of Pennsylvania, had become rector of St. Peter's Church, Lewes, and St. George's Chapel, Sussex County. The Rev. Erastus B. Foot had officiated at Milford a short while and had become adjunct Professor of Languages in Newark College. The Rev. Samuel G. Callahan, whom Bishop Onderdonk ordained to the

³⁹*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the Diocese of Delaware, held at Seaford, Wednesday, the 29th of May, 1839.*

diaconate in Immanuel Church, New Castle, November 3rd, 1839, was put in charge of Seaford. The Rev. William H. Trapnell, from Maryland, was rector of St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington. On the 25th of January, 1840, that church had been destroyed by fire; the edifice and the beautiful new tower and spire were burned. But "after this lamentable event the congregation opened with zeal, a subscription for rebuilding it," and a new edifice was in progress at the time of the Convention.

The report of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, revealed an optimistic outlook in the face of the recent disaster. "We are happy to state, however, that through the indefatigable exertions of the congregation, and the prompt assistance of our friends, another, and a much superior church edifice is now in rapid progress, and will, when completed, be one of the most comfortable and convenient churches in the state. The building is eighty feet long, by forty-eight wide, in addition to which there is a recess for the pulpit five feet deep; our design is to erect a steeple one hundred and fifty feet high, sixty feet of which will be of masonry. We expect to have our temple ready for consecration some time in November next."⁴⁰

The Convention of 1841 deservedly ranks among the most important conventions in the history of the Delaware Church. For more than half a century there had been no resident bishop in the state; and although bishops from nearby had generously assisted the struggling church and Bishop Onderdonk, in particular, had given freely and systematically of his time, there was not the sense of solidarity which might have ensued from a diocesan whom the people could call really their own.

The 1841 Convention met in St. Paul's Church, Georgetown, Wednesday, the 26th of May. Bishop Onderdonk presided. In his address he reported having consecrated the new St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, October 15th, 1840. "This edifice is substantial and beautiful, and reflects the highest credit on the zeal and liberality of those who have accomplished the good work, and particularly on the indefatigable exertions of the Rector, the Rev. W. H. Trapnell. To have the new building ready for consecration in less than nine months after the destruction of the former one is a remarkable example of dispatch. On this interesting occasion Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, did me the favor to preach; and I administered the holy communion." The Bishop also reported that Trinity Church, Wilmington, had been greatly enlarged, and very much improved and

⁴⁰*Journal of the proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Delaware, held at Milford, Wednesday, the 27th of May, 1840.*

beautified; "an undertaking highly honorable to the congregation and their efficient Rector, the Rev. J. W. McCullough."

At the afternoon session the Convention took steps to complete the organization of the Diocese by the election of a Bishop. The Rev. Alfred Lee, rector of Calvary Church, Rockdale, Pennsylvania, was nominated. "The nomination received the cordial support of several members: the Rt. Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, expressing his hearty previous concurrence in the proposition. . . . Mr. Lee received a unanimous vote and the chair declared the Rev. Alfred Lee to be duly elected Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware."

Those who signed the testimonial of his election were:—

H. U. Onderdonk, President of the Convention.
 S. W. Presstman, Rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle.
 John P. Bausman, Rector of St. Ann's Church, Middletown,
 and St. Peter's, Smyrna.
 John W. McCullough, Rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington.
 Corry Chambers, Rector of St. James Church, Staunton.
 William H. Trapnell, Rector of St. Andrew's Church,
 Wilmington.
 John Reynolds, Rector of Christ Church, Milford.
 Samuel G. Callahan, Minister of Christ Church, Laurel,

and the following lay delegates:—

Wm. Smith, Jeremiah S. Deleplain—Grace Church, Brandywine.
 Aquila Pritchard, James F. Wilson—St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington.
 Nehemiah Stockly, William Cummins—St. Peter's Church, Smyrna.
 M. Bradford—Trinity Church, Wilmington.
 Joshua Burton, William B. Burton—St. George's Chapel, Indian River.
 Charles Wright, Major W. Allen—St. Luke's Church, Seaford.
 C. S. Layton, John R. Draper—Christ Church, Milford.
 Wm. D. Waples, Benjamin Burton—Prince George's Church, Dagsborough.
 Thomas Davis, Salathiel Baker—St. Matthew's Church, Cedar Creek.
 Samuel Paynter, Robert Burton—St. Peter's Church, Lewestown.
 Joshua A. Elligood, Josiah O. Neal—Christ Church, Laurel.
 M. Rench, Edward Wootten—St. Paul's Church, Georgetown.

A committee of four was appointed to confer with the Bishop-

elect and request his acceptance.⁴¹ The Rev. Mr. Lee's reaction towards the call is best told in his own language when he addressed the Convention of 1842, after his consecration:

"A call wholly unexpected, from a portion of the church to which he was personally a stranger, broke in upon the quiet tenour of parochial engagements, and imposed upon him the necessity of deciding one of the most serious and important questions which can be presented to the mind of a minister of Christ. Before venturing to determine it, it seemed incumbent upon me to visit my brethren, who had honored me with such a mark of their confidence, and acquaint myself as fully as possible with the condition and circumstances of the church over which I was invited to preside. I accordingly made a tour of the lower part of the Diocese in June last (1841), and visited the upper part in July, being everywhere received with those kind and hospitable attentions which have been ever since extended to me throughout the state. That I found most of the churches in an exceedingly depressed and feeble condition, I need not inform you. You are too familiar with the desolations of Zion to require a description of them. I surely saw much to discourage in the field of labour proposed to me. But the result of my observations was to impress very deeply on my mind the wisdom and necessity of the step which the Convention had taken in the election of a Bishop; although I could not but regret that their choice had not fallen upon some one more experienced and better qualified. In no other course did there appear to human eye any prospect for the church in the two lower counties, but gradual decay and not very distant extinction.—It became my duty therefore to decide between personal inclination, the comparative comfort and more congenial retirement of the pastoral charge, and much conscious deficiency on the one hand, and the high claims of duty to the church of Christ, on the other. This question I endeavoured to meet in the fear of God, and in view of the great account hereafter to be rendered. Had there been a single dissenting voice in my election, I should have felt myself at liberty, although grateful for the preference manifested, to have declined the unexpected invitation. But the unanimity of the call given to me, invested it with ten-fold weight. I shrank from the responsibility of declining a charge which the hand of Providence appeared to lay upon me. In view therefore of its evident burdens and cares, and with its duties, difficulties and discouragements plainly seen, and convinced more deeply than any other can

⁴¹*Journal of the proceedings of the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Delaware, held at Georgetown, Wednesday, the 26th of May, 1841.*

be, of my insufficiency, I have felt constrained to answer, 'here I am, send me.'"⁴²

Alfred Lee was consecrated Bishop in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, October 12th, 1841. Morning prayer was read by the Rev. S. W. Presstman, of Delaware, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Crosswell, of Connecticut. The Ante-Communion service was begun by Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, the Epistle being read by Bishop Philander Chase, of Ohio, and the Gospel by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia. The sermon, from the text: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them; for in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee" (I. Timothy iv., 16) was preached by Bishop Charles Pettit McIlwaine, Bishop of Ohio. The Litany was read by Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, of Connecticut; and the questions were propounded to the candidate by Bishop Alexander Viets Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese. Bishops Moore, Chase, Brownell and Onderdonk of Pennsylvania united in the imposition of hands. Bishop Lee took his seat in the House of Bishops October 13th, making the number of members twenty-one, and being the thirty-eighth in the succession of American bishops. He officiated for the first time in the Diocese of Delaware, in Immanuel Church, New Castle; and presided over his first Convention at Wilmington May 25th, 1842, in St. Andrew's Church. His first Convention sermon was taken from the text: "Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts; look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine." (Psalms lxxx., 14.) The era of progress had set in at last.⁴³

⁴²*Sermon and address delivered at the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the Diocese of Delaware, held in St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, May 25, 1842, by the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Diocese.*

⁴³*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, pp. 32-34.*

THE CASE OF THOMAS THOMLINSON*

Elizabeth Kaye

THIS is the story of a little drama that was in progress in an isolated corner of one of the most remote and uncared-for colonies of the British Empire one hundred and seventy years ago. The date is 1764; the scene, North Carolina, then celebrating the hundredth anniversary of her birth. She had been a neglected infant, treated from her earliest years with indifference, unreason, with unsuccessful attempts at harsh coercion that alternated with periods when she was left to her own scanty resources; and it was little wonder that her centenary found her wayward and unruly, peopled by settlers who resented fiercely interference from beyond the seas and obeyed the royal Governor only when his wishes were coincident with their own. On the northern frontier, where Carolina ran parallel to Virginia, it was said in 1727 that there men paid tribute to neither God nor Cæsar. A quarter of century of work by a handful of wide-scattered missionaries (themselves fitted for the work in varying degrees) had barely modified this attitude. It was a land of perpetual strife and contention, where individualism went unchecked and there was a violently-growing colonial self-consciousness.

About half-way down the coast-line of the Province as the crow flies, but many miles to the southward if the deeply indented shore were followed up its hundred of bays, creeks, inlets, stood the little town of Newbern. Settled in the first place by small bands of German and Swiss protestants (hence the name, New Berne), it had managed to struggle into permanent existence, although within living memory it had suffered the horrors of an Indian invasion and lost sixty of its inhabitants by tomahawk and knife. Here the Neuse River flowed into the shallow waters of Pamlico Sound, and up the estuary came the sea-borne trade from England in fluctuating but on the whole increasing volume, giving to the town its importance as a channel of communication with the old continent, and making it a center of civilized life for the sparse settlers of the interior. Here were to be found men with a sense of responsibility and traces of a

**Compiled from letters and papers in the possession of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Tufton Street, Westminster, London, S. W.*

wider outlook than could be found in, or expected from, the back settlers. Here were the headquarters of James Reed, since 1754 industrious, patient and upright pastor of a parish which extended to the furthest boundaries of Craven County; not only pastor, perhaps martyr, and—but the story must unfold itself in proper course. And here upon the scene arrives our hero—Thomas Thomlinson. Not a hero whose name is known to fame, on whom history has bent her searchlight; he has a brief hour on the stage, then the curtain swiftly drops and hides him.

When we first make his acquaintance, Thomas Thomlinson was already a man of fully-formed character; he was in the middle twenties and had a clear idea of what life meant for him and what he wanted to do with it. He had come to the wilderness of Carolina from a land whose solitude is less severe, but where quiet, empty spaces leave their mark on hearts sensitive to their tenderly rigorous discipline. He came from Cumberland in England; his home (it appears) was at Lazonby, that small village in the lovely Eden valley, where to east and west rise the cloudy outlines of Pennine and Lake mountains, and to the north the land opens out to the plain of Carlisle and the mysteries of Scotland beyond. He was known in west Cumberland as well; he had "good friends" at Wigton; and it is reasonable to conjecture that it was at this small town that bustled into life on market days that he kept his school. For he was a schoolmaster; not only a "good scholar, but a Man of good Conduct." It is plain that he was a man with a vocation. He was ambitious for the honour of his profession; he gave "great satisfaction to the parents of children under his care, and bid fair to be of infinite Service to the rising Generation." Events justified this judgment. A friend who watched his development during the eight crucial years of his career was able to write:

Mr. Tomlinson is a sincere Christian. . . . He is certainly one of the most peaceable and inoffensive men living, enters into no parties, meddles with no body's business but his own, & not addicted to any one visible Vice.

From Wigton a few miles of sloping land lead to the wide shores of the Solway; here golden sands and blue waters alternate through the long and lazy summers; larks hover and sing over stretches of sandy soil ablaze with gorse and thyme; grey hills of Scotland edge the further coast, now so near it seems an outstretched hand might almost touch them, now shadowy and far withdrawn, now altogether blotted out by one of the black storms that rush suddenly up the estuary from the treacherous Irish Sea. Fancy pictures Thomas Thomlinson pacing those sands on rare days of leisure, Criffel a blue

shadow in front of him, the cry of curlews in his ears; and there dreaming his dreams of high if sober hopes for the future.

That future had suddenly assumed another shape. From distant Carolina had come a summons, from Newbern on its important river, with its hinterland of scattered clearings, of swamps and remote forests; with its population now thoroughly imbued with a strongly colonial outlook. The inhabitants had become alive to the desirability of securing education for their much-neglected children, and had formed the project—although at the moment the idea was pretty nebulous—of establishing a public school. A member of the Thomlinson family had already emigrated and settled in the town; would Thomas come over, take charge of the school and raise it to that eminence which its originators hoped for and which its situation promised?

The pioneering spirit was strong in the family; the brother who had already made his way to Carolina urged that fortune, if not fame, was there for the asking; his own brain conjured up ideas of service and wide opportunity that only awaited the enterprising explorer. No man born or nurtured there can leave the lovely Cumbrian country without a pang: but with whatever grief of heart, he bade good-bye to Lazonby and Wigton, to the soft mists and rain-washed luminous skies; undertook the very real perils of the tedious voyage, and set his face resolutely toward the brave new life of America.

Arriving in Newbern in December, 1763, he lost no time in putting his plans into execution; and so great was his dispatch that he was able to open his school on the first day of the new year. Unknown and incalculable New Year, what did it hold for this valiant adventurer? Apparently nothing but good. Mr. Reed, who took an interest in the school no less ardent than that of the schoolmaster himself, was able to write on June 1st:

(He) immediately got as many Scholars as he cou'd possibly take to do them Justice. And a Subscription for a School House has lately been carried on with such success, that I have got notes of hand payable to myself for upwards of Two Hundred Pounds this Currency (equal to about One Hundred & Ten Pounds Sterl) to build a large Commodious School House in Newbern, & which I shall endeavour to get completed as soon as possible. For during Eleven Years Residence in this Province, I have not found any Man so well qualified for the care of a School as Mr. Tomlinson.

The wise and gentle Mr. Reed, who though he never learnt to spell the name of his protege aright, yet grew to love him with almost a

father's affection, was not the only person to be impressed by the vigour and single-minded zeal of the new recruit from England. The leading inhabitants of the town, taking due note of his "Sobriety and good Conduct," drew up a Memorial to the Governor. With self-approbation they drew his attention to the fact that 'the Inhabitants of this Town and County as well as several of the Adjacent Counties have subscribed considerable Sums of Money for the building of a large and commodious Schoolhouse to encourage the said Thomas Thomlinson as much as in their power'; pride had swelled the sum, whether in fact or imagination later events will show, to "above Three Hundred Pounds Proclamation," and they anxiously declared that

they are very desirous that the said Thomas Thomlinson should continue among them as a schoolmaster whom to their general Satisfaction they have experienced to be well qualified not only to instruct their Children in such branches of useful Learning as are necessary for Youth . . . but also desirous to imprint on their tender minds the principles of the Christian Religion.

Governor Dobbs was pleased to endorse this appeal; he signed it in a hand already shaken by years and sickness and forwarded it to England to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, knowing it ever ready to listen and (if circumstances allowed) to respond to petitions on behalf of religion and sound learning. This was the only service that Governor Dobbs had it in his power to render Thomas Thomlinson, for in the following March he died. "He was to have imbarc'd in a few days for London," wrot a contemporary; "but I hope in God he has had a better remove."

The new Governor, William Tryon, was to prove a pillar of strength, however, and in '65 forwarded a supplementary petition to London. Meanwhile, Thomas' hopes ran so high and numbers at the school rose so rapidly that as early as June in his first year he wrote to friends in England to engage and send out an assistant. Thirteen months later the assistant was still lacking—a delay in no way exceptional when confirmation that letters had been received safe in London might take two, three, and even more years: but the schoolmaster

expects one daily, tho' a little dubious, whether the Advantage arising from keeping an Assistant will be Proportionable to the Trouble & expence, unless he shou'd be so happy as to meet with a Person better qualified for such a Place than he can reasonably expect according to his Proposals.

It is not surprising that the rash young man experienced a few qualms, for he had engaged the assistant entirely at his own risk and charge; but as it turned out, James Macartney proved for fourteen months a valuable help and acquitted himself with "the greatest Diligence & Assiduity." Thomas Thomlinson's financial prospects were hardly brilliant: he had

Thirty Scholars at Twenty Shillings Proc by the Quarter
which according to the present Exchange amounts to Sixty
Pounds Sterling per ann:

and James Reed knew of "no other Advantages or Perquisites whatsoever." The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, however, had agreed to give him £15 a year, on the strict understanding that the money could not be procured from any other source. The modest expectations of the schoolmaster appear to have been satisfied by this aspect of his affairs, for he told Mr. Reed that he had no reason to complain; and this James Reed, practical man as he was, admitted he was relieved to hear,

for he is the first Person, I verily believe, that ever taught school in Newbern for any considerable Time, without complaining of bad Pay, & very loudly such Complaints I have seen nail'd up at the Church Door.

He added with satisfaction that Mr. Thomlinson continued a useful member of society among them, and attended his school with very great diligence. It was a matter of much concern to him, however, that living conditions for his young friend were far from pleasant. The people were mostly very poor; all sorts of

wares & merchandise are excessive dear, much dearer, I believe in this Province than in any other upon this Continent, which may in some Measure be owing to our bad Navigation, but principally to the Want of a Proper Staple Commodity. Board is likewise very high, not less than Twenty five Pounds Sterling per Ann: in any regular decent Family, & indeed hardly any such families to be found that will take in Boarders on any Terms whatsoever. Mr. Tomlinson is obliged to lodge in a public House, which, he says, is very disagreeable, but as the Children belonging to the family are under his Tuition, he meets with some Indulgence in his expences, & therefore submits to the Inconvenience on account of his Interest.

An House of his own in the honourable estate of matrimony, I presume, wou'd be more agreeable, wou'd his Circumstances permit; & I know of no other Method of Living

that can be attended with the least Satisfaction to a regular & virtuous Man in this place.

Perhaps Thomas himself had visions of the home he might one day possess; but if his private circumstances compelled such day-dreams to be put aside for the present, still more so did the pressure of public affairs. To far-sighted observers, indeed, such as James Reed, the portents were ominous: at the very beginning of 1766 he noted "the distracted & confused Situation of Affairs in this American world. Tho' the People here are peaceable & quiet, yet they are very uneasy, discontented & dejected. The Courts of Justice are in a great Measure shut up, & tis expected that in a few Weeks there will be a total Stagnation of Trade." Yet the affairs of the school continued to progress; for in this year, after the long delays which were a matter of course in all colonial enterprises at the time, the House of Assembly passed an Act creating an "Incorporated Society for Promoting and Establishing a public school at Newbern"—the first "public" school in the Province. For a limited time, one penny per gallon was laid upon all spirituous liquor imported into Neuse river for the benefit of the school: out of the proceeds of the duty so levied, twenty pounds a year were to be paid to the schoomaster to enable him to keep an assistant, and the remainder was to be applied to the free education of poor children, not exceeding ten in number. Thomas Thomlinson may well have thought the way was now fairly clear before him. And on Easter Monday in that year proof was given of the general esteem in which the community held him, for the Vestry appointed that he should attend Newbern Church on those frequent Sundays when James Reed was absent at one or other of his remote chapels, and read such portions of the service as were suitable for a layman. For this duty the Vestry voted him twelve pounds a year; Mr. Reed provided a copy of Tillotson's Sermons; and so satisfactory were the sermons, or the young Reader's performance of his duty, that the congregations attended "very regularly." Welcome as was this addition to his income, he still had cause for anxiety about money matters. His lack of means began to weigh on his mind, for he was now about thirty years old, and anxious (Mr. Reed reported) to "settle himself for life." Early in 1767 he was greatly encouraged by the news that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had, in addition to his regular salary, granted him a gratuity of ten pounds. (This was repeated on a subsequent occasion.) His letter acknowledging this "extraordinary benevolence" assured the Society that he would go through the fatigues of his work with "Chearfulness & Assisduity," although a close attendance upon a school in such a climate as that of

Carolina—with its violent changes of weather, its “nauseous exhalations” from swamps, marshes or stagnant waters, its extreme autumnal heats in the low-lying parts of the Province—was “one of the greatest Trials to a Man’s Constitution.” Anxious words, those, for his friends to hear, in a land where toll of life was as heavy as it has ever been in any of the infant colonies of the Empire; where young men arriving in robust health and high spirits one week, had been followed to their grave the next, where a few years changed the ardent missionary into an old man with “crazy constitution,” paralyzed or crippled by rheumatism, “fluxes” and intermittent fevers.

By July, 1766, the school house was at length enclosed, and was considered a “large and decent edifice for such a young Country.” It measured forty-five feet in length, thirty in breadth, and had already cost upwards of three hundred pounds Carolina currency. As is the way with such buildings, funds were now exhausted, yet the floors were not laid, nor the chimneys built. James Reed was as unflagging as ever in his enthusiasm. “I have preached & begged in its behalf,” he wrote, “till the Suppliant is grown weary & Charity cold.” He had gone so far as to send his last half-year’s salary to New York to purchase bricks for the chimneys, and was determined to use the opportunity that would be offered the following November when a session of the General Assembly was to be held at Newbern by recommending the enterprise from the pulpit and trying thus to increase the subscriptions. He did not conceal that it was uphill work. “‘Twould give me much Satisfaction to see a little flourishing Academy in this place,” he said; “I have this Affair much at heart, & the difficulties I have met with have given me much uneasiness.” Could zeal have removed obstacles, Newbern School would soon have been accomplished by the devotion of these two men. The schoolmaster, in spite of his own precarious situation, followed James Reed’s example and himself sank a “considerable sum of money” in the institution. But however unfinished the building, the work of education proceeded steadily. In 1767 the number of children had risen to “near 80,” although owing to absences, particularly in the sickly season of the autumn, the average attendance was about sixty.

The next two years passed in comparative peace, if not without incident. Mr. Macartney (gone to England seeking ordination) was succeeded as assistant by James Parrot, who proved a helpful colleague and sincere friend. But the school recorded with the sensitiveness of a barometer the fluctuations in the prosperity of the Province according to its economic and political condition from month to month. And the barometer began steadily to fall. In 1770 the “advanced price of boarding in this place, and the extreme scarcity of our Cur-

rency" prevented many gentlemen in distant places from sending their children, as they would have wished, to Newbern school; so that Thomas Thomlinson was forced to admit that "the School for some Time past has been a little upon the Decline." At this date, too, it was affected by a rival establishment, for a school was opened by a dissenting minister at Wilmington, nearly a hundred miles to the south in the Cape Fear district, and a half-dozen of the Newbern scholars were removed to it for the convenience of being nearer home. This reduced Thomas Thomlinson's charges to about forty-four. But worse was to befall. Fate began to load the dice. Events piled themselves up and led to a catastrophe that was unforeseen and overwhelming. It was an insignificant detail that provoked the storm, but in a short space Thomas found himself involved in a quarrel that jeopardized his career. For he offended an unscrupulous man who had power—a parent, who was also a trustee of the school.

From the beginning Thomas Thomlinson had not had an easy task. Mr. Reed put the matter in a nutshell:

When Mr. Tomlinson opened his school (he wrote), he was apprised of the excessive Indulgence of American parents, & the great difficulty of keeping up a proper discipline; more especially as his School consisted of a Number of both Sexes. He was therefore very cautious, & used every little Artifice to avoid Severity as much as possible. But when the Children grew excessive headstrong, stubborn & unruly, & likely to endanger the Welfare of his School, he used to correct & turn them out of his School, & make some little difficulties about their Readmission.

This sensible procedure did not satisfy malignant fortune. She put it into the heads of the children of two of the Trustees to "commit notorious offences"—to behave in so altogether outrageous a way that Thomas had no choice but to follow his usual routine and expel them for a time. The Trustees were eleven in number, of whom James Reed was one. One of them had "acquired a very considerable fortune by trade" in consequence of which four or five of his colleagues were "intirely at his devotion." It was this man whose parental pride was affronted, who took "very great umbrage" at the policy of the schoolmaster, and who from this date became his bitter enemy. "The potent trustee," Mr. Reed named him, with his gift for phrase, and even he could not disguise his scorn for this man and his friends.

The Majority of the Trustees are Wealthy men, but I cannot learn, that any of them ever passed thro' a reputable School, or have the least knowledge of any of the learned Languages, or liberal Sciences, or of the difficulty of govern-

ing a School. And I shall leave you to judge of the Honour & Integrity of some of them from the inclosed List of Debts due to Mr. Tomlinson, which he gave me last Christmas.

It is clear that the weapons that Thomas Thomlinson could bring to bear in his own defence were not likely to be of much avail in a contest with adversaries of so different a calibre from his own.

When the schoolmaster found his numbers thus reduced, he petitioned the Trustees to make up the number of poor scholars under his care to ten, the number provided for in the Act of Assembly; at no time had he ever received more than five. But if the allotted number were supplied, then there would be full work for Mr. Parrot as well as for himself, and the school would be nearly as full as it was before these misfortunes began to occur. "But behold the Consequence," said Mr. Reed. A meeting of the Trustees was held on September 14th, 1771—not a general meeting for James Reed received no notice of it—but of such of the members as "could be depended upon to answer particular purposes," and an order made that he should dismiss the five poor children then at school, under pretext of want of money to repair the school house or "do the least thing in it." That it was a pretext, the accounts clearly proved; for when after many delays Mr. Reed obtained access to them, he found that after making full allowance for the education of ten poor children as well as for the other commitments of the Trustees, a balance for repairs and sundries was left over of £52. 7. 1. The dismissal order, in fact, was nothing but a "design to distress Mr. Tomlinson." And distress him it did, for now that the school was so reduced in number there was not enough work there for two men. There was nothing for it but to approach Mr. Parrot himself on the matter; and here the harassed schoolmaster met with a man of like character to himself. For with a generous sympathy beyond praise, James Parrot recognized the necessities of the case; he consented at once to cancel the agreement by which he was entitled to employment for a specified number of years, and agreed to provide for himself. In a country so unsettled, with trade fluctuating and the currency most unstable, it was a brave as well as an unselfish act: But his generosity was rewarded. His talents as "a good mathematician & Penman" secured him a living for the time being from hackney writing. And Thomas Thomlinson breathed again; the worst difficulty seemed overcome, and once more he felt "perfectly easy" in his circumstances. But the respite was short.

At this point stress of feeling made James Reed's narrative intensely dramatic; we are swept along on a wave of passion. The next stage of the story must be told in his own words:

But tho' Mr. Tomlinson was now perfectly easy, yet resentment cou'd not sleep. The Correcting & Turning the Children of two of the trustees out of the School, was, like the sin against the Holy Ghost, never to be forgiven. Mr. Tomlinson's destruction was determined upon, but how to accomplish it was the difficulty. Mr. Parrot was therefore tampered with to open a School in opposition to him. But Mr. Parrot saw thro' their design of making a Fool of him; & tho' he detested their proposal, yet he gave soft answers, implying, that if the School shou'd at any time be vacant, he wou'd accept it, provided he had no better employment. Mr. Tomlinson was therefore to be turned out to make room for him; but Governor Tryon was in the Way, who had been an Eye Witness of Mr. Tomlinson's Conduct, & had a particular Value & Esteem for him. But at length Governor Tryon was removed to New York, & a new Governor succeeded him, who was a stranger to Mr. Tomlinson, & then was the time to strike the fatal Blow. Accordingly on the 14th of last September there was a Meeting of the trustees, (not a general one, for tho' a trustee, I had no notice of it, not being a proper person for such business as they were about) when they did their utmost to turn Mr. Tomlinson out of the School. . . . Upon (their proceedings) I wou'd beg Leave to remark; That when they took the poor Children away, there were no complaints of Neglect, but only of Want of Money. But now Mr. Tomlinson is accused of neglecting his School by the trustees, & what seems very surprising, by nobody else. They were the only Accusers, & the only Judges.

Mr. Tomlinson has taught School here upwards of eight years, & I never heard him accused of neglecting his School, till after the 14th of last September; & since that time only by one person, who is greatly in his debt, besides the trustees that endeavored to displace him. And I verily believe, that they might with as much Justice have accused him of robbery, or wilful Murder.

This letter was written in February, 1772, when the events of the last autumn could be seen in clear perspective. Five days earlier the victim wrote his own account of the affair. "The injurious treatment I received last Fall from the Incorporated Society" had roused his bitterest resentment.

Without the least previous Disapprobation of my Conduct—nay, without even a Moment's warning, (they) attempted to dismiss me from my Office, at one of their Meetings in last September, in the most indecent, ungenerous & arbitrary manner:

Not contented with the Arbitrary Exertion of Power; After having given me an Order, in public Meeting, as well

for my Salary, as for the Education of the poor Children &c which had been long due to me; One of the Members, *out of public Meeting*, & by his own Authority, (to whom two more afterwards joined themselves) countermanded the Order given by the *whole Society*, and forbade the Treasurer to pay me: so that, I have been obliged to commence a Law Suit against them.

My Remonstrances against their Proceedings availed nothing. I found it had been the premeditated Scheme of One Great Man, & two of his Adherents, (whom I had affronted near 2 years before by correcting & turning out of School some of their Children for very Notorious Offences) to remove me at all events. You will not doubt of the undue Influence he has obtained, when you are acquainted, that all the rest of the Members tamely acquiesced with, & servilely submitted to, his Countermanding my Order; notwithstanding its being contrary to every Principle of Justice. Nor have they ever yet dared to resent such an Outrage offered to the whole Society: or to assert their Rights which he has thus wantonly trampled upon & violated.

Thomas Thomlinson might well state the case in strong terms. For the money ordered to be paid to him, and immediately afterwards withheld, consisted of twenty pounds for an assistant, due nine months previously: fifteen pounds for three-quarters of a year's schooling for five poor children due eleven months previously: as well as six pounds seven shillings and two pence for a "Sett of Maps, Globe, &c" owed for an unspecified length of time; in fact, the whole of this large sum had come from the poor schoolmaster's own pocket, and he was summarily dismissed (as they thought) without any pay in lieu of notice. A further aggravation of his ill-treatment was a list of private debts owing from various parents: from trustees in their private capacity, no less than one hundred and twenty-one pounds ten shillings; from others, seventy-two pounds fifteen shillings; and bad debts estimated at thirty pounds. In spite of the law suits which he instituted with a heavy heart for the recovery of these sums, he did not expect, even should all go well, to recover any of it in less than eighteen months. As it turned out, the Trustees took fright; a few days before the sitting of the superior court, when the case was down for hearing, the Treasurer paid Thomas the whole sum due from the Society, ordered the suit to be dismissed, and paid the costs.

We must return for a moment to the fatal meeting of the 14th of September. Only eight of the Trustees were present; there were two vacancies; Mr. Reed had not been summoned. Thomas Thomlinson, being charged with "negligence & undue attendance," was dismissed by the vote of seven, one dissenting. He was summoned before the meeting, and abruptly discharged. Immediately after-

wards two new trustees were elected, sent for and sworn in. A nomination of Mr. Parrot as schoolmaster was at once drawn up, signed by ten, and forwarded to the new Governor for his assent.

But here the trustees met with a difficulty, they were not aware of. They knew of Mr. Parrot's distressed Circumstances, & never doubted but he would readily accept the School. But when the time of trial came, he let them see, that he had too much Sense to be made a Fool of, & too much Honour to supplant a worthy honest Man. In short, he refused to accept the School, when offered in such a base and dishonourable Manner; which redounded so much to his Credit, that he has lately got into decent employment in the Secretary's Office, which, I hope will give him a comfortable Subsistence at present, & be a Step towards his future Advancement.

Here at least virtue was rewarded; relief is afforded in the deepening gloom of our story. It is for the last time.

At this stage of affairs, the new Governor, Martin, was drawn into the case. By the Act incorporating the Society, it had been laid down that the assent of the Governor was necessary for the appointment of the schoolmaster, and Thomas Thomlinson accordingly held the Governor's license. He now appealed to Governor Martin for a public hearing. Mr. Reed, though at the time a sick man, accompanied his friend when he waited upon his Excellency, and they were received very graciously. The Governor was a new-comer, and not knowing how he was legally authorized to interfere, prudently refused to grant a public hearing until he had obtained legal advice; but he lost no time in requesting the opinions of the Attorney-General and of another prominent lawyer—the Honourable Marmaduke Jones—upon the case. Their views coincided, and were stated at length in October by the Honourable Marmaduke Jones. He found that the Act of 1766 invested the Governor with a power "perfectly nugatory, making his license necessary to the appointment of a Master, while the absolute power of dismissal and removal of Masters is reserved to the Trustees, and requires not his consent or participation." There was nothing more to be done. But Governor Martin, stirred by the injustice of the case, would not let matters rest without making some attempt to prevent similar outrages in the future. He wrote at length to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to the Bishop of London. In the first letter he said:

I should be much wanting in justice to a most excellent and deserving Character . . . if I did not stand forth to defend Mr. Thomas Thomlinson from any ill impressions

that may be conceived of him on his dismissal from the Mastership of the public School in this Town. Upon the strictest enquiry I find his Character, and Conduct not only unimpeached but standing in the fairest Light; and he has been discharged from the Mastership of the School through the Caprice of a few of the Trustees who have an overruling influence in absurd resentment of his just moderate and necessary exertion of the authority of a Pedagogue over their contumacious Children.

The tangible result of this letter was that the Society in London continued to pay their share of Mr. Thomlinson's salary despite the action of the Trustees. The letter to the Bishop of London dealt fully with the legal aspect of the question, with suggestions for amending the Act; it also paid its tribute to "the worthy and injured Gentleman," and related the story now familiar to us.

The King's Governor (he continued), is rendered the mere instrument of the Trustees power, which they have most capriciously exercised in the present instance, and who being ignorant and uneducated men, are as little capable of judging of the merits of a Pedagogue; as inclinable to do Justice.

Whether the Governor's efforts bore fruit or not, it was too late to save Thomas Thomlinson. From September, 1771, till April, 1772, he continued to carry on the school as usual, being unwilling himself to turn out and James Parrot being unwilling to take his place; but he did not resolve on this step until "solicited in the strongest manner by all my former Employers to a man—three of the families of the discontented Trustees only excepted." He also continued to officiate as Reader of the parish, in which station, the Governor declared, he acquitted himself admirably. But by the spring he found it an absolute necessity to wind up his affairs; a close attention to business in that hot climate had considerably impaired his health; more urgent still, so many of the parents were in arrears to him, that his financial position was shattered. For the last time we scan the delicate, clerkly writing, the firm clear letters with their even slant, the elegant capitals, the d's with their curving backs, which no doubt had many a time adorned the Newbern blackboard:

I have now to acquaint you that I quitted the School on the 13th of April, & Surrendered my License to his Excellency. What a Hardship that this Affair, in which both my Interest & Character have been so deeply concerned, shou'd be smothered up without a fair & public Hearing.

And so we bid good-bye to Thomas Thomlinson. In September of that year, 1772, he was at Rhode Island, hoping to restore the health which had suffered from the close confinement of so many years. After that, silence. We know nothing further of his history. He has had his brief moment in the light; he passes now into the darkness beyond. Did he remain in America, take his part in the quarrels and intrigues of the chaotic years that followed? Did he survive to watch the fortunes of the infant republic? Or was his blood shed in loyalty to king and mother-country, in defence of the old order, of the values expressed in the civilization of Europe? Or did the hills of Cumberland call him back across the sea? Did he settle down once more in quiet Lazonby on the Eden, finding there the happiness and security that the Carolinas so sorely lacked? Did he pace again the Solway sands reflecting on the dreams that had drawn him to the West, and on the nature of that "liberty" that in his case at least had proved so elusive a will-o'-the-wisp? We cannot tell. He passes out of history.

What of James Reed, wise and faithful missionary? Surely his labours bore fruit, that unremitting toil of over twenty years? In surroundings where the gentler virtues went to the wall, where the crudities of a settler's life blotted out the subtler aspects of human nature, he never ceased to uphold a humane tradition, to preach the value of the fruits of the spirit. In 1760 we read that "he hath given great Satisfaction to his Parishioners by a regular & exemplary Life & a faithful Discharge of his Duty & that there is a perfect Harmony and good Agreement subsisting between him & his Parishioners." "I think myself happy in their Love & Affection," he wrote in reply, "and have entirely laid aside all thoughts of deserting my Charge or ever removing." Many years later, when deaf, broken in health and "drugged with unavailing medicines," he was still of the same mind, and refused to consider suggestions that he should seek an easier parish and a new set of acquaintances in the "decline of life." He perpetually preached a gospel of love. In 1774 he protested in whole-hearted manner against an Act empowering keepers of work-houses to inflict corporal punishment on the refractory poor. "The very thought of whipping the Aged & Infirm, tho' a little refractory, is shocking," he declared. Yet for his own soul he found little peace. Weariness of spirit overtook him at the end. "I must ingenuously confess," (he writes), "I am heartily weary of living in this Land of perpetual Strife & Contention. Such I have found it by the Experience of upwards of Twenty years. . . . For I need not inform you that all America is in a most violent Flame. And every good

man wou'd forbear as much as possible adding the least Fuel to the Fire."

In that fire he was to be consumed. He refused to take part in a service at Newbern on March 20th, 1775, which would have brought him under the displeasure of Government; he was "listed in the Gazette"; the committee of the Continental Congress

Desired that the Vestry Should suspend him, and that the Church-Wardens should not pay him his Salary, which was immediately complied with.

In 1776 he hoped that the breach with his people had been healed. But the hope was vain. We are laconically informed that he did not long survive the treatment he received, and in May, 1777, he died.

To rescue from complete oblivion the memory of these Englishmen who lived so many years ago, is the only restitution now possible for their griefs and wrongs. And for ourselves it is not unprofitable to ponder for a while, not the cost to life and health alone, not the loss of material ease and wealth—but the "expense of spirit" that went to the blazing of a trail, the making of an Empire.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

Manuscript Journal of John Stark Ravenscroft, First Bishop of North Carolina

JOHNS STARK RAVENSCROFT was consecrated first Bishop of North Carolina on May 22, 1823. He died March 6, 1830. The following is the Journal of his first visitation. The manuscript was found in the archives of the General Convention and is now published for the first time.

BISHOP RAVENSCROFT'S JOURNAL

Friday, June 27th, 1823—Left home on my first Episcopal Visit to the Diocese of North Carolina—and arrived at Winesborough (Waynesborough) in Greenville County the same day—lodged at Mrs. Sneeds, with the Rev. Mr. Green, Rector of St. Johns Church in that village—Very wet weather, but most refreshing to the Earth and Crops parched up by a Drought of nearly two months Continuance—Mrs. R with me.

Saturday, June 28th—Preached in St. Johns Church—the Service by Mr. Green—the Congregation small, owing to the weather.

Sunday the 29th June—Preached and administered the Sacrament with the assistance of Mr. Green—the House nearly full, and an attentive people—May the word be Fruitful.

Met with a Miss Yancey—infected with the Romish Delusion—thro the Glasses of Bishop England—Endeavoured to counteract his perversions of Scripture, in favour of Transubstantiation—chiefly by shewing the irrelevancy of the Scripture passages relied upon, and the fallacy of any Resort to the analogy of this with the other Mysteries of Religion—and of Mystery in general—because they in no Case, tho above our Reason, contradict either our Reason or Senses, which the Doctrine of Transubstantiation certainly does—But chiefly because it is in direct opposition to St. Pauls understanding of the Scriptures relied upon by the Romanists—For if this Doctrine be true, Christ must often have suffered not only since the Beginning of the World, in every Sacrifice and sacramental Memorial of him, previous to his Passion—but subsequently also since his Glorification, even to the present day—left her this Question to consider

on—What can you obtain, as regards the salvation of your Soul—in the Church of Rome, which you cannot have in the P. E. Church—Bishop England very politic—veiling and holding back the revolting parts of the Romish Doctrines, and shewing great latitude to his people, both in opinion and Practice, in respect to other Denominations.

Monday the 30th—Visited an old acquaintance in the neighbourhood—Col. Robt. Burton, an Episcopalian in principle—tho lax on the distinguishing Doctrines and Character of the Church—and hampered by a different profession in his own family—and disposed to go with all—He is old and very infirm, awake to the warnings of a Tottering Tabernacle—and expecting his Desolation with Hope.

Held a Conversation with Mr. Green and Horace Burton on the subject of Masonry—shewing its Nullity when considered as an adjunct to the Gospel—its opposition in principle to the Religion of Christ—and the injurious Effects, from its being patronised by the Ministers of Religion. Mr. Burton, who is a Presbyterian, tells me he has ceased to attend their Lodges—Mr. Green does not yet see it in the right light.

July 1st, Tuesday—Proceeded on my Journey—Mr. & Mrs. Green in Co. Reached Oxford to Dinner at Mr. William Sneed and spent the night at Mr. Stephen Sneeds. Preached by Candle light in the Methodist meeting house to a full assembly—There are in this place a few Episcopalians but like sheep without a Shepherd, continually exposed to the inroads of the Dissenters, and to the Greivous Effects of occasional Services. The Lord send labourers into his Vineyard—and stir up the Hearts of the People to feel their own wants, and to make an Effort to provide against them.

Wednesday the 2d. Proceeded on our Journey—to Dr. Bullocks to Dinner—15 miles—Friendly to the Church and desirous for his Family to continue therein—spoke to me on the subject of Confirmation, wishing two of his Children to have the Benefit of that Ordinance—explained the nature of the rite—and the necessary preparation for its profitable administration—I judge however, that he wishes it, because it is practised in the Church—not with an understanding impression of its nature, obligation and Efficacy.

Went on in the Evening to Judge Camerons in Orange County, 6 miles—son of the late Revd. Dr. Cameron of the Dioc. of Virginia—an old acquaintance of mine and Mrs. R's—an able man, a Pious and a wealthy Episcopalian to whom the Church in North Carolina is under great obligations.

Found the Family in distress from the Circumstance of their second daughter having broken her arm that morning by a fall in the school room—The arm is sett, but she is in great pain. Thursday, Friday and Saturday, remained

with this kind family, in the enjoyment of Friendly and Christian Intercourse. Remarkd the very luxuriant state of the Corn crop from Wnsborough (Waynesborough) to this place—Much of the Wheat injured however and some lost, by a wet Week in the close of the harvest.

Sunday July 6th—Proceeded to St. Marys Chapel for Divine Service, by previous appointment—10 miles—found a large Collection of People, and an arbour erected—the Chapel being small. The Service by Mr. Green—after the 2d Lesson—Baptised 8 adults and one Infant—Some of the adults, the first Fruits of a Sunday school commenced in this place by Mrs. Anderson of Hillborough, her son and daughter in law—on arriving at the place, was struck with the spectacle of a number of the Blacks collected together with their Boards of the alphabet in their hands.

Mem.: to carry out the Thought, of a plan for the profitable instruction of the Blacks in this way—

After the Ante Communion Service administered the Rite of Confirmation to 24 Persons—one of them, Mrs. Latta, between 80 and 90 years of age, and desirous above Measure of this apostolick sealing to God in the Hope of the Gospel.

Preached from 2d Corinth. 5 & 21—and administered the Sacrament to 45 Communicants—many of these however belonging to other Denominations. The Congregation at this place, is under the care of the Rev. Mr. Green, my fellow traveller, who preaches to them twice a month.

After Service went on to Hillsborough—6 miles—with Mrs. Anderson and her Friends. Here Mrs. R had the opportunity of recalling past scenes in the Company of Mrs. Anderson, her mother, sister and one of her brothers with other Connections of the family, no doubt very gratifying to her—as Mr. Cameron was many years her Parish Minister—and great intimacy subsisted between the Ruford & Cameron families.

Sunday Evening—I read the Service and Mr. Green preached in the Presbyterian Church.

Monday July 7th—Preached in said Church, in the forenoon, from the Parable of the Talents, and apparently with acceptance, the service by Mr. Green.

Tuesday 8th—Visited Judge Norwood, a short walk from the village—whose wife is a member of the Church—and preached in town in the Evening.

Took the opportunity after Prayers in the Family, to speak on the subject of the church, the distinct and authorized nature of the ministry—and the danger of losing sight of such advantages in the great work of Religion—to the Edification, Comfort and Strengthening & trust of some present.

Wednesday the 9th—Sett off at 4 oclock for Raleigh—reached Chapel Hill to Breakfast—14 miles—kindly received by

Major Henderson and his Family—one of the first Explorers of the Kentucky Country—While the Horses were refreshing, visited the University—all the Professors absent but one, Professor Mitchil—it being vacation—I saw the Rooms and Libraries of two Societies established by the young Men in College, which are well spoken of—tho the principle is not a safe or a Correct one in such Institutions, the Professors being necessarily excluded and of course have no Controll over the subjects discussed, or the manner of treating them.

Surprised to find that the Professors do not lecture to the classes—the System being accademical and not collegiate. The Building is spacious enough but appropriated chiefly to Lodging Rooms, as is also another large Building, not yet finished—the view from the Cupola of the College is extensive, over a diversified surface, all forest—The Institution is under Presbyterian Influence exclusively. Dr. Caldwell being the President—This People seem to have no Remorse at appropriating to themselves, what was once applied to very different purpose. This place taking its name from an old Episcopal Chapel, now no more, close to the College, and their House at Hillsborough built on the very Foundations and ground of an Episcopal Church—an old Episcopalian being still alive, who complains bitterly that the very ground which he assisted to grub and clear with his own hands to build a Church upon, should now be taken from him.

Proceeded on 18 miles to Dinner, the Sun excessively hot, the Country poor and water for horses scarce—The Character of the Crop has changed since we passed Little River in the neighbourhood of Judge Camerons—the Corn low & weakly even on fine looking land.

Dined and Rested two hours at Henry Jones—a neat comfortable place and good fare—the water better than heretofore.

Went on in the Evening to Raleigh 10 miles, to the Tavern kept by Mr. Ruffin, preferring to rest there that night, seeing it was late and we were fatigued, to going to a private Family, where we were invited—Ruffins not a comfortable House.

Thursday the 10th—Removed to Mr. Sherwood Haywoods—where we were kindly received and made perfectly at Home.

Notice having been given that the Presbyterian Meeting House would be open for me during my stay, an appointment was made for that Evening—Dr. McPheeters the Presbyterian Minister waited on me, and very Civilly offered his Services—He is considered more liberal than common.

The day taken up with calls and introductions—all expressing satisfaction at my presence in the Place.

In the evening the Service by Mr. Green, afterwards I

preached but very uncomfortably to myself and Hearers—the light being (?) manageable—not a little mortified—seeking I fear the praise of Men.

Friday the 11th—Returning calls and looking for a House—found one to suit, but the Landlord sick and not able to go and view it—Visited the State House and the Statue of Washington by Canova—just put up—a fine piece of Sculpture but would answer better for any of the Roman Consuls—being neither a likeness in Features or in Costume—the Carolinians however very touchy on this Point.

Saturday the 12th—Divine Service by Mr. Green, after which I preached, preparatory to the Sacrament on the next day.

Sunday the 13—The Services in full to a numerous Congregation, some from a distance—the Communicants few in comparison, many of them Dissenters. Mr. McPheeters sick.

Preached again in the Evening and took leave of the People for the present. Owing to the absence of the Vestry of Christ Church Raleigh, and the professional engagements of the two that were there, I could not return a verbal answer to their application to me as Pastor—I therefore wrote to them accepting the offer—with room for Modifications, and a request to have some temporary place filled up for a place of Worship—I also answered various letters from the Clergy and put forth an advertisement to the Diocese, informing of my contemplated motions and probable removal to reside.

Monday 14th—Closed a Bargain with Mr. Webb for his House at \$150. per an. with a preference at that rent, unless sold—and in the afternoon sett off for home by way of Wnsborough (Waynesborough) and arrived there after visiting several friends on Friday Evening 18th—Thanks be to God for his Mercy and Protection.

THE REVEREND DEVEREUX JARRATT*

1732-1801

By E. Clowes Chorley

THE Evangelical Movement in the American Church sprang into life in Virginia about the middle of the eighteenth century. Its prophet was the Reverend Devereux Jarratt, for thirty-eight years the minister of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, Virginia.

The youngest son of Robert and Sarah (Bradley) Jarratt, he was born in the county of New Kent, some twenty-five miles below Richmond, on January 6, 1732. He had little education, but was gifted with an extraordinary memory, and could repeat whole chapters of the Bible. He was especially fascinated by the story of Samson in the Book of Judges. The "odiousness" of Delilah's character made such an impression upon him that it contributed "to that utter abhorrence I have had of that kind of *vermin* all the days of my life."

Religion had no place in his upbringing. His work consisted in the care and exercising of race horses, "preparing game-cocks for a match and main," and plantation work. "There was," he writes, "a church in the parish, within three miles of me, and a great many people attended it every Sunday. But I went not once a year. And if I had gone ever so often, I should not have been much the wiser; for the parish minister was but a poor preacher—very unapt to teach or even to gain the attention of a congregation. Being very near-sighted, and preaching wholly by a written copy, he kept his eyes continually fixed on the paper, and so near, that what he said seemed rather addressed to the cushion, than to the congregation. Except at a time, when he might have a quarrel with any body—then he would straiten up, and speak lustily, that all might distinctly hear. . . . In circumstances so unpromising, it is not very wonderful, that I remained ignorant of God, and careless about religion. I only copied the example of my *elders* and *superiors*." "*Cards, racing, dancing &c* were then much in vogue. In these I partook, as far as

*Copyright.

my time and circumstances would permit, as well on Sundays as any other day. In these I vainly sought my felicity, but never found."¹

The earliest religious book which fell into his hand was a copy of George Whitfield's *Sermons* preached in Glasgow—the first sermon book he had ever seen. It had no effect upon him, he writes, "As the author, I was told, was a *New Light*, and consequently what he said, was nothing to *Churchmen*."² He went to board in a house the mistress of which was a *New-Light* and read aloud every evening one of Flavel's sermons. From this source Jarratt received his first real religious impressions. He strove earnestly for the light; but when tempted to give up the struggle, he was deterred by the thought that "damnation will be the consequence," so he continued "rather than burn in hell to all eternity." "For several months," he said, "I had religion enough to make me frequently uneasy—but never enough to make me happy. Sinning and repenting—repenting and sinning was the round I went for many months." During that period he read by the light of the evening fire Burkett on the New Testament, and "acquired considerable views of the plan of salvation," but, he adds, "I did not yet think I had attained a living faith in his blood."³ The light dawned slowly. Then came the crisis. Reading Isaiah lxii, 12—"Thou shalt be called, sought out, a city not forsaken," he says,

"I was blessed with faith to believe, not one promise only, but all the promises of the gospel with joy unspeakable and full of glory—I saw such a fullness in Christ, to save to the uttermost, that, had I ten thousand souls as wretched and guilty as mine was, I could venture all on his blood and righteousness without one doubt or fear. The comforts I then felt, were beyond expression, and far superior to anything I had ever known before that memorable hour."

'Eternal glories to the King,
Who brought me safely through;
My tongue shall never cease to sing,
And endless praise renew.'

"It was a little heaven on earth—so sweet, so ravishing, so delightful. I uttered not a word, but silently rejoiced in God my Saviour."⁴

Even prior to this experience he had "begun to exercise his talents for the good of souls, having acquired some knowledge of divinity,"

¹Jarratt, p. 23.

²Ibid., p. 28.

³Ibid., p. 41.

⁴Jarratt, pp. 48-9.

and "some gift in extempore prayer." When the regular minister was engaged in another part of the circuit Jarratt had conducted meetings at which he offered prayer, read "some lively and practical discourse," and led the people in the singing of Watt's hymns and psalms. In this way came the thought of the ministry.

Up to that time his entire religious life had been among the Presbyterians, and he had not only become a rigid Calvinist, but had "contracted a prejudice against the Church of England," and was "much set against the Prayer Book." Then he began to think, and Hervey became his favorite author. He writes:

"I learned also, that the two most zealous and indefatigable ministers in Europe, *Wesley* and *Whitfield*, were members of the Church of England. Those, and many other things, too tedious to mention, caused me to judge more favorably of the Church than I had done—I saw that a man might be as pious and useful in that Church as in any other: yea, all things considered at that time, I thought he might be more useful. The *Prayer Book* I had not examined, but had caught up a few scraps and sentences out of it, which were said to be objectionable, and which I thought were justly so. But, on mature consideration, and examination of the book on a larger scale, I saw, or thought I saw, that most of the objections were ill founded. There were, indeed, some words in some of the offices, which I thought had been better omitted, or differently expressed—and I think so still. But on the whole, I thought it contained an excellent system of doctrine and public worship—equal to any other in the world."⁵

Thus convinced, he determined to take Orders in the Church. Selling a patrimony of three hundred acres, in the spring of 1762 he obtained the necessary papers from the Governor of Virginia and the Commissary of the Bishop of London, "took his life in his hand" and sailed for England in October for Holy Orders. Making his way to London he passed the canonical examinations, holding his own with the candidates from Oxford and Cambridge and was ordered Deacon by the Bishop of London at Christmas. Just one week later he was priested by the Bishop of Chester. Whilst waiting for a ship he records hearing both Wesley and Whitfield, but "got little edification from either." He sailed from Liverpool on April 30, 1762, and landed at Yorktown the morning of the first Sunday in July.

Hearing that Bath parish was vacant, he set out for that place; preached in Butterwood church and on August 29th he was formally received as minister of the parish and commenced his eventful work in Virginia. He found religion at a low ebb. In a letter

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

addressed to Francis Asbury and published in Asbury's Journal he writes, "Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness, and irreligion, then prevailed among all ranks and degrees; so that I doubt if even the form of godliness was to be found in any one family of this large and populous parish."⁶ Later, he wrote of conditions at that time:

"I found the principles of the gospel—the nature and condition of man—the plan of salvation through Christ—and the nature and necessity of spiritual regeneration, as little known and thought of, as if the people had never a church or heard a sermon in their lives. Yet, as it appeared, they thought themselves a wise and understanding people, and as religious as was necessary, or their Maker required them to be. Such being the state of things, every well informed mind will readily conceive, in a measure, the difficulties I had to encounter. I had to encounter gross ignorance of divine things, combined with conceited wisdom and moral rectitude. I had also to engage with strong prejudices, occasioned by their high opinion of the great learning and accomplishments of their former *ministers*. From *these*, I suppose, they had heard little else but morality, and smooth harrangues, in no wise calculated to disturb their carnal repose, or awaken any one to a sense of guilt and danger—They could not therefore, bear a blow at the root, or the self-abasing doctrines of free grace, which I constantly endeavored to preach in a close, plain, searching, pungent, animated manner. Nature would rise, and violently reluctate against such preaching. It was too mortifying for human pride to bear."⁷

When he preached the need for conversion, they said one to another, "We have had many ministers, and have heard many of our ministers before this man, but we never heard anything, till now, of conversion, the new birth &c.—we never heard that men are so totally lost and helpless, that they could not save themselves, by their own power and good deeds;—if our good works will not save us, what will"? When, too, he scathingly denounced the prevailing worldliness, they replied, "We have never heard any of our ministers say anything against *civil mirth*, such as dancing, &c. nay, they rather encouraged the people in them; for we have seen a parson such a one, and parson such another, at these mirthful places, as merry as any of the company. This new man of ours brings strange things to our ears."⁸

Distressed by such conditions Jarratt thundered against the world, the flesh and the devil in no uncertain tones. He describes

⁶Bangs: *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, Vol. I, p. 90.

⁷Jarratt, pp. 83-4.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 85.

the plan of his preaching as aimed to convince of sin; to stress their inability to save themselves; to point out the remedy, and to urge them to "fly to Jesus Christ, and rest upon him for complete salvation."⁹ He writes:

"I began my ministry with the doctrine of original sin. I have no notion of entertaining unawakened mortals with florid harrangues and fine paintings of moral *virtues*, as is too commonly the case, in our day. The word *virtue*, or *moral virtue*, is the cant term of all our velvet-mouthed preachers. . . . It is, indeed, a very pretty word, and sounds soft and smooth. It means *something* or *nothing*, according to the fancy of the reader or hearer. But I consider this favorite word to be of heathenish extraction, and therefore cautiously avoid it in all my public discourses. . . . Instead of moral harrangues, and advising my people, in a cool dispassionate manner, to walk in the *primrose paths of a decided, sublime and elevated virtue*, and not to tread in the foul tracks of *disgraceful vice*, I endeavored to expose, in the most alarming colors, the guilt of sin, the entire depravity of human nature, the awful danger, mankind are in, by nature and practice—the tremendous curse to which they are obnoxious—and their utter inability to evade the sentence of the law and the strokes of divine justice, by their own power, merit or good works. These doctrines are very grating and mortifying to the pride of man, and therefore, the more necessary to be often repeated, and warmly inculcated, that the haughtiness of man may be brought down, and his lofty imaginations laid low; that Jesus Christ may be gladly received, as a Saviour in a desperate case."¹⁰

Thus did Jarratt endeavor to turn his little world upside down, For a time it was adamant. He notes that the "common people" came to church more than usual, and "some were affected at times. so as to drop a tear," but adds, "Still for a year or more, I perceived no lasting effect, only a few were not altogether so profane as before. I could discover no heartfelt convictions of sin, no deep or lasting impression of their lost estate."¹¹ Then came a change. "In the year 1765, the power of God was more sensibly felt by a few. These were constrained to apply to me, and inquire, What they must do to be saved? Butterwood church was twice enlarged and still could not hold the crowds coming from far." In 1770 and 1771 there was "a more considerable outpouring of the Spirit; convictions were deep and lasting; and not only knowledge, but faith and love, and holiness

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰Jarratt, pp. 83-4.

¹¹Bangs: Vol. I, p. 91.

addressed to Francis Asbury and published in Asbury's Journal he writes, "Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness, and irreligion, then prevailed among all ranks and degrees; so that I doubt if even the form of godliness was to be found in any one family of this large and populous parish."⁶ Later, he wrote of conditions at that time:

"I found the principles of the gospel—the nature and condition of man—the plan of salvation through Christ—and the nature and necessity of spiritual regeneration, as little known and thought of, as if the people had never a church or heard a sermon in their lives. Yet, as it appeared, they thought themselves a wise and understanding people, and as religious as was necessary, or their Maker required them to be. Such being the state of things, every well informed mind will readily conceive, in a measure, the difficulties I had to encounter. I had to encounter gross ignorance of divine things, combined with concealed wisdom and moral rectitude. I had also to engage with strong prejudices, occasioned by their high opinion of the great learning and accomplishments of their former *ministers*. From *these*, I suppose, they had heard little else but morality, and smooth harrangues, in no wise calculated to disturb their carnal repose, or awaken any one to a sense of guilt and danger—They could not therefore, bear a blow at the root, or the self-abasing doctrines of free grace, which I constantly endeavored to preach in a close, plain, searching, pungent, animated manner. Nature would rise, and violently reluctate against such preaching. It was too mortifying for human pride to bear."⁷

When he preached the need for conversion, they said one to another, "We have had many ministers, and have heard many of our ministers before this man, but we never heard anything, till now, of conversion, the new birth &c.—we never heard that men are so totally lost and helpless, that they could not save themselves, by their own power and good deeds;—if our good works will not save us, what will"? When, too, he scathingly denounced the prevailing worldliness, they replied, "We have never heard any of our ministers say anything against *civil mirth*, such as dancing, &c. nay, they rather encouraged the people in them; for we have seen a parson such a one, and parson such another, at these mirthful places, as merry as any of the company. This new man of ours brings strange things to our ears."⁸

Distressed by such conditions Jarratt thundered against the world, the flesh and the devil in no uncertain tones. He describes

⁶Bangs: *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, Vol. I, p. 90.

⁷Jarratt, pp. 83-4.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 85.

the plan of his preaching as aimed to convince of sin; to stress their inability to save themselves; to point out the remedy, and to urge them to "fly to Jesus Christ, and rest upon him for complete salvation."⁹ He writes:

"I began my ministry with the doctrine of original sin. I have no notion of entertaining unawakened mortals with florid harrangues and fine paintings of moral *virtues*, as is too commonly the case, in our day. The word *virtue*, or *moral virtue*, is the cant term of all our velvet-mouthed preachers. . . . It is, indeed, a very pretty word, and sounds soft and smooth. It means *something* or *nothing*, according to the fancy of the reader or hearer. But I consider this favorite word to be of heathenish extraction, and therefore cautiously avoid it in all my public discourses. . . . Instead of moral harrangues, and advising my people, in a cool dispassionate manner, to walk in the *primrose paths of a decided, sublime and elevated virtue*, and not to tread in the foul tracks of *disgraceful vice*, I endeavored to expose, in the most alarming colors, the guilt of sin, the entire depravity of human nature, the awful danger, mankind are in, by nature and practice—the tremendous curse to which they are obnoxious—and their utter inability to evade the sentence of the law and the strokes of divine justice, by their own power, merit or good works. These doctrines are very grating and mortifying to the pride of man, and therefore, the more necessary to be often repeated, and warmly inculcated, that the haughtiness of man may be brought down, and his lofty imaginations laid low; that Jesus Christ may be gladly received, as a Saviour in a desperate case."¹⁰

Thus did Jarratt endeavor to turn his little world upside down, For a time it was adamant. He notes that the "common people" came to church more than usual, and "some were affected at times. so as to drop a tear," but adds, "Still for a year or more, I perceived no lasting effect, only a few were not altogether so profane as before. I could discover no heartfelt convictions of sin, no deep or lasting impression of their lost estate."¹¹ Then came a change. "In the year 1765, the power of God was more sensibly felt by a few. These were constrained to apply to me, and inquire, What they must do to be saved? Butterwood church was twice enlarged and still could not hold the crowds coming from far." In 1770 and 1771 there was "a more considerable outpouring of the Spirit; convictions were deep and lasting; and not only knowledge, but faith and love, and holiness

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰Jarratt, pp. 83-4.

¹¹Bangs: Vol. I, p. 91.

continually increased." The following year the good work spread fifty and sixty miles around, and by 1774 "it was more remarkable than ever." He writes:

"The word preached was attended with such energy that many were pierced to the heart; tears fell plentifully from the eyes of the hearers, and some were constrained to cry out. A goodly number were gathered this year, both in my parish and in many of the neighboring counties."¹²

Encouraged by this work of grace Jarratt embarked upon a plan which had no precedent in the life of the Church in Virginia. He "went out by night and by day, at any time in the week to private houses," gathered as many as he could, "for the purpose of prayer, singing, preaching and conversation." He soon became convinced that "more solid and lasting good was done by those means, than at the churches."¹³ It was his custom at these meetings to put questions on the law and the gospel; repentance, faith, regeneration, sanctification and so on, "but the answers were generally lame and unsatisfactory."

Such novel methods did not go unchallenged, especially by his fellow clergy, most of whom were content with routine duty. They dubbed Jarratt "an enthusiast, fanatic, visionary, dissenter, Presbyterian, mad-man, and what not."¹⁴ He writes of this time,

"I stood alone for some considerable time; I dare say no man was ever more cordially abhorred, than I was by the clergy in general. By *them*, was I frequently threatened with writs and prosecutions &c. for the breach of canonical order. . . . One of the most furious wrote me two angry letters, reminding me of irregularity, and breach of the 71st canon, by preaching in private houses, &c.¹⁵ To his first letter I replied in mild and inoffensive terms. He wrote again, and insisted very strenuously on my great irregularity, in breaking the canon above said. I also wrote again, and observed—That if to preach in a private house, or even on any unconsecrated ground, was a breach of canonical order and regularity, then we were all involved in the same condemnation, for I know not that any clergy-

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹³Jarratt, p. 91.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁵The 71st Canon, entitled, *Ministers not to preach, or administer the Communion in private Houses* read in part: "No Minister shall preach, or administer the holy Communion, in any private House, except it be in times of necessity, when any being so impotent as he cannot go to the Church, or very dangerously sick, are desirous to be partakers of the holy Sacrament, upon pain of Suspension for the first offence, and Excommunication for the second." There is no record of Jarratt ever administering the Holy Communion in any private house at this time.

man in Virginia, ever scrupled to transgress that canon for the sake of forty shillings. This was the legal fee for a funeral sermon, under the establishment, and for the sake of which, all places were alike sacred, when any clergyman was called upon for such a service. I therefore asked my incensed brother, whether I, who preached in such places, without fee or reward, could be more culpable than those who were paid for it? I could not see that I was, and therefore concluded by saying, *He that is without sin*, in this respect, *let him cast the first stone* at me. Moreover, as I knew that my testy brother was very fond of cards, dice, tables, &c, which are expressly forbidden us, by the 75th canon,¹⁶ I made free to ask, if it was not as criminal, and more so, to break the 75th as the 71st canon? From that time I heard no more of the canons."¹⁷

Undeterred, Jarratt pursued his way waving the torch of a flaming evangelism. The strangers who came from far and near to Butterwood church carried the good news to their distant homes and pressing invitations poured in on him to preach in other places. When he complied, his experience matched that of John Wesley in England. Many churches were closed to him; others could not hold the thronging congregations. Hence he preached in the open air, under "trees, arbors or booths." Of such occasions he writes, "the extremities of the audience stood at the distance of fifty, sixty or eighty yards from me, on the right and left, and in front. But kind Providence had favored me with such strength of constitution and soundness of lungs, that without any disagreeable strain of voice, the farthest off could hear, as well as the nearest." In spite of his travels, which extended to a circle of about five hundred miles, he seldom failed to officiate in rotation on Sundays in the three churches of his own parish.

Devereux Jarratt attached great importance to what he always called "the Lord's Supper." Writing in 1794 of a period forty years back, he said,

"The sacrament of the supper had been so little regarded, in Virginia, by what were called *Church people*, that, generally speaking, none went to the *table*, except a few of the more aged, perhaps seven or eight at a church. The vast majority of all ages, sexes and classes seemed to think nothing about it, or else thought it a dangerous thing to meddle with. Accordingly, the first time I administered the sacrament here, about seven or eight communed."¹⁸

¹⁶The 75th Canon, on Sober Conversation required in Ministers, read, "No Ecclesiastical person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any Taverns, or Alehouses . . . they shall not give themselves . . . to drinking or riot, spending their Time idly by day or by night, playing at Dice, Cards, or Tables, or any other unlawful Games, &c."

¹⁷Jarratt, pp. 96-7.

¹⁸Jarratt, pp. 102-4.

But, he notes, "the preaching the humbling doctrines of the gospel of free grace, in their simplicity and purity," effected a great change in this respect. "As soon as the people got their eyes opened to see their own wants and necessity of a Saviour, and the nature and design of the *ordinances* was shown, and the obligation, which all professing Christians are under to remember their dying friend, according to his own institution, the number of communicants increased from time to time, so that in the year 1773, including those who constantly attended from other parishes, the number was, at least, nine hundred or one thousand."¹⁹ He writes,

"The approach of the communion season diffused pleasure throughout the parish, among all the godly, and great satisfaction, in common with the rest, have I enjoyed on those occasions. To see so many hundreds convened from different quarters, joining fervently in the divine service; to hear them singing the praises of their God and common Saviour, lustily, with one heart and voice—to see them listening to the word preached, with *attention still as night*—eagerly drinking in the balmy blessings of the gospel. . . . O, it was a little heaven on earth—a prelibation of celestial joys."²⁰

From time to time revivals broke out. One such Jarratt describes in these words:

"When the love-feast was ended, the doors were opened. Many who had stayed without, then came in; and beholding the anguish of some, and the rejoicing of others, were filled with astonishment; and not long after with trembling apprehensions of their own danger. Several of them, prostrating themselves before God, cried aloud for mercy. And the convictions which then began in many, have terminated in a happy and lasting change.

The multitudes that attended on this occasion, returning home all alive to God, spread the flame through their respective neighborhoods, which ran from family to family; so that within four weeks several hundreds found the peace of God. And scarce any conversation was to be heard throughout the circuit, but concerning the things of God: either the complainings of the prisoners, groaning under the spirit of bondage to fear, or the rejoicing of those whom the Spirit of adoption had taught to cry, 'Abba, Father.'"²¹

Jarratt describes the doctrines emphasized at these revival periods:

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 102.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

²¹*Bangs: Vol. I, p. 98.*

"One of the doctrines, as you know, which we particularly insist upon, is that of a present salvation; a salvation not only from the guilt and power, but also from the root of sin; a cleansing from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, that we may perfect holiness in the fear of God; a going on to perfection, which we sometimes define by loving God with all our hearts. Several who had believed were deeply sensible of their want of this. I have seen both men and women, who had long been happy in a sense of God's pardoning love, as much convicted on account of the remains of sin in their hearts, and as much distressed for a total deliverance from them; as ever I saw any for justification. Their whole cry was,

" 'O that I now the rest might know,
Believe and enter in;
Now, Saviour, now, the power bestow,
And let me cease from sin.' "

He was not unmindful of the perils of religious excitement characteristic of the early revivals, and said that "in some meetings there has not been that decency and order observed which I could have wished" and that there was some wild fire mixed with the sacred flame. "Some of our assemblies resembled the congregation of the Jews at the laying the foundation of the second temple in the days of Ezra—some wept for grief, others shouted for joy, so that it was hard to distinguish one from the other. So it was here: the mourning and the distress were so blended with the voice of joy and gladness that it was hard to distinguish one from the other, till the voice of joy prevailed: the people shouting with a great shout, so that it might be heard afar off."²² He did his utmost to suppress unseemly excitement, and records his dislike of "loud outcries, tremblings, fallings, convulsions." On one occasion he was so successful in calming the tumult that he says, "Since that evening, this kind of confusion has never been known in my neighborhood. It continued longer in other places, but for some time has been totally gone."

In the year 1771, Robert Williams, the first Methodist preacher to visit Virginia, stood on the steps of the Court House at Norfolk and gathered a congregation by singing. He preached with "considerable interruption from some disorderly persons. They seemed to think, indeed, that the preacher was mad: for as they had not been accustomed to hear a minister pronounce the words *hell* and *devil* in his sermons, from the frequent use Mr. Williams made of these terms, they concluded that he was a wicked, swearing preacher, though in some parts of his discourse they thought he preached the gospel."²³

²²*Ibid.*, p. 97.

²³*Bangs: Vol. I, p. 73.*

The following year Williams visited Jarratt, who describes him as "a plain, simple-hearted, pious person, greatly blessed in detecting the hypocrite, razing false foundations, and stirring up believers to press after a present salvation from the remains of sin." Jarratt writes of his intercourse with Williams:

"I had much conversation with him concerning Mr. Wesley, and the nature and design of *Methodism*. He informed me that the Methodists were true members of the church of England—that their design was to build up, and not to divide the church—that the preachers did not assume the office of priests—administered neither the ordinances of *baptism*, nor the *Lord's Supper*, but looked to the parish ministers, in all places, for *these*.—that they travelled to call sinners to repentance—to join proper subjects in societies for mutual edification, and to do all they could for the spiritual improvement of these societies. Mr. Williams also furnished me with some of their books, and I became acquainted with the minutes of several of their conferences. By these means I was let into their general plan, and that '*He that left the church, left the Methodists.*'—I put a strong mark on *these words*."²⁴

The statement of Williams was in strict accord with John Wesley's celebrated "*Twelve Reasons Against a Separation from the Church of England*," one of which read, "Because it would be a contradiction to the solemn and repeated declarations, which we have made in all manner of ways, in preaching, in print, and in private conversation."

The idea of "societies" was no new thing to Jarratt, for he had been accustomed "to collect and meet the people for religious improvement" before the advent of Methodism in Virginia. Convinced that they had no hostility to the Church, and regarded themselves of her fold, he had no hesitation in encouraging their work and co-operating with them. He allowed their men to preach in his barn, but never in his church, and from time to time he attended and spoke at their meetings.

At that time the Methodist preachers were prohibited, by their own rules, from any administration of the Sacraments. Their first "regular" conference in America convened at Philadelphia, on July 4, 1773. Among the rules agreed to by all the preachers present were these two:

1. "Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labor in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper."

²⁴Jarratt, p. 108.

2. "All the people among whom we labor, to be earnestly exhorted to attend the Church, and to receive the ordinances there; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia to the observance of this minute."²⁵

So, from time to time, Jarratt administered the Lord's Supper to the Methodist preachers assembled in annual conference. The minutes of the conference of 1781 record the fact that he "attended the conference, and preached to the people with great power and acceptance, gave his advice in matters of importance, and administered the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper."²⁶

In 1776 not a few of the churches of "the establishment" were closed by reason of the War, so Jarratt notes "that the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper could not so conveniently be obtained in some places, as formerly." He adds:

"To remedy this inconvenience, some of the *lay-preachers* undertook to ordain themselves, and make priests of one another. This, I remember, they called a *step*—but I considered it as a prodigious *stride*; a most unwarrantable usurpation, and a flagrant violation of all order. This long step was taken, I believe, in 1777 or 1778. I previously advised them against the step—but to no purpose—my advice was treated with contempt—the trump of war was blown against me, their old friend and benefactor: and, you may be sure, dirt and filth enough were thrown at me, by these *self-created* priests and their adherents."²⁷

The constituted authorities of Methodism did not approve of such a step. The minutes of the General Conference of 1783 record this resolution: "Re-resolved to abide by the decision formerly made, not to administer the ordinances."²⁸

In the course of time the Evangelical cause in Virginia was checked. Jarratt himself was charged with "an itching palm," and it was bruited abroad that he was a "great money-sweeper." To these unfounded statements he answered:

"In all my travels and preachings before the revolution, I never received a single farthing—nor since, except when I have undertaken to supply a vacant parish statedly—but this has seldom happened: and once I was complimented with about ten dollars in South Carolina. Funeral sermons I have generally preached gratis, and marriages have not been very considerable."²⁹

²⁵Bangs: Vol. I, p. 79.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 142-3.

²⁷Jarratt, pp. 111-12.

²⁸Bangs: Vol. I, p. 79.

²⁹Jarratt, pp. 121-2.

These ugly rumors affected injuriously his standing in his own parish. He writes:

"Instead of crowded churches, as formerly, my hearers seldom exceed, on Sundays, one hundred and fifty, and, for the most part, hardly half that number. The communicants have decreased ten-fold. Love and harmony are gone—so that I have little satisfaction at communion seasons. In a word, there appears such a degree of shyness, coldness, and disaffection among the people, and they look so strange at me, that I can take no satisfaction in the company of any, except a few of the old standards. In this uncomfortable situation, I often call to mind better days, and with great sensibility repeat those lines in the 42nd Psalm:

'Tis with a mournful pleasure now,
I think on ancient days;
When to *the Church* did numbers go,
And all our work was praise.'"³⁰

There were other causes for the decline of Evangelical religion. About the middle of the eighteenth century the Baptists invaded Virginia. The first comers were known as "regulars"—the conservative element; between 1750 and 1760 they were followed by the radical element, known as "Separates." These, together with the Presbyterians and Methodists, "were all at variance with the spirit and practice of the establishment. An impartial historian writes of their attitude to the Church: "The criticism of the establishment was keen, and of all the critics the Baptists were most trenchant. The Anglican clergy came in for a denunciation which included their lives, their sermons and the performance of their duties." He goes on to say,

"It was into this dull and formal world that the evangelical missionaries came, preaching a new religion. Their sermons were not the rationalistic homilies of Anglican divines, but the burning, moving appeals of enthusiasts. . . . The poorer people, hitherto unreached by the establishment, were stirred to the core by the wandering Baptist preachers, who walked the highways and byroads, preaching in season and out and reproducing the apostolic age. The phenomena of the movement were such as mark all great revivals—hysteria, contortions, raptures, and even coma. The contrast between the overpowering sermons of the evangelists and the short prosy moral discourses of the Anglican ministers was great, and between the point of view of the two schools even greater, so that in time, as a result of the evangelical triumph, the 'new light' religion came

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

to be considered the only valid form of Christianity, and the unworthiness of the old parsons grew into a sort of legend."³¹

To this untempered and wild evangelism the Baptists added bitter hostility to the Church, and later they were the main factor in the confiscation of the Glebes. In spite of his evangelical fervor these Baptists had no kindly feeling for Jarratt. He notes that "By their assiduity and continual inculcation of adult baptism, and unceasing disputes on the subject, they had shaken the faith of some, and gained them over to their party. The consequence was a total separation from the old church, and from all such as still adhered to her usages."³²

By the irony of circumstance Jarratt was most sorely wounded in the house of his friends—the Methodists. In Maryland and Virginia some of the preachers manifested a growing desire to administer what they called the "ordinances." Francis Asbury, and the preachers to the North, were equally strong in their opposition to any such innovation.³³ They remembered that John Wesley had steadfastly exhorted his adherents "to go to the Church for the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper." But circumstances favored the Southern preachers. The War had cut off communication with John Wesley and, with the exception of Asbury, all the English preachers had returned to their own country. The Americans were left in the saddle. At the conference of 1779 the older preachers were deputed to ordain ministers, and "Those who were thus ordained went out preaching and administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper to all who desired them, either for themselves or for their children; and thus was a breach made between the Northern and Southern preachers . . . the preachers at the North mourned over them on account of their departure from what they justly considered Wesleyan Methodism."³⁴

This action, local to Maryland and Virginia, was a stunning blow to Jarratt and one he never ceased to mourn. "They embraced," he writes, "a new faith, and it shewed itself, by their works, for from that memorable period, *old things were done away*, their *old mother* to whom they had avowed so much duty and fidelity, was discarded—violently opposed—Yea, it seemed as if they would have torn her from limb to limb, and deprive her of every *member*."³⁵ He himself did not escape: "You may be sure I have been well battered," and he adds,

³¹Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, p. 36.

³²Jarratt, pp. 105-6.

³³Bangs: Vol. I, p. 129.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

³⁵Jarratt, pp. 119-20.

"In good and candid truth, such a spirit has prevailed, and doth yet prevail, to increase and establish that *novel* institution, that the reputation of no man, however holy and useful he may be, has been too sacred, to escape the lashes of malignant tongues."³⁶

Truly, as he wrote on another occasion, "I before observed, that if I did err in giving countenance to the Methodists, on their first coming into Virginia, *they have since sufficiently* punished me for it."³⁷

Forsaken by the Methodists, and harassed by the Baptists, Jarratt found no consolation in his own Church. It had suffered severely in the War of the Revolution, and worse was to follow. In the year 1774 he records going to the convention at Williamsburg, where he "was distressed to hear some of the most sacred doctrines of Christianity treated with ridicule and profane burlesque."³⁸ After the signing of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, the Church in Virginia was incorporated, and he attended the convention of 1790, when James Madison was elected bishop, but concluded that "going to convention appeared a needless expence of time and treasure."

But, in spite of all her shortcomings, Jarratt never lost his large love for the Church of his deliberate choice. He writes to his old friend Archibald McRoberts, who had forsaken the Church for the Presbyterians,

"I dearly love the Church. I love her on many accounts—particularly for the three following. I love her because her mode of worship is so beautiful and decent, so well calculated to inspire devotion, and so complete in all parts of public worship. I love her, because of the soundness of her doctrines, creeds, articles, &c. I love her, because all her officers, and the mode of ordaining them, are, if I mistake not, truly primitive and apostolic. Bishops, priests and deacons were, in my opinion, distinct orders in the church, in her earliest and purest ages. These *three particulars*, a regular clergy, sound doctrine, and a decent, comprehensive worship, contain the essentials, I think, of a christian church. And as *these* are in the possession of the old church, I have been, and still am, inclined to give her the preference.—Her being at this time under a cloud, does by no means lessen my esteem for her: but on the contrary, I feel myself more attached to the Episcopal Church, since she lost her emoluments and the smiles of government, than ever I was before. 'A brother loveth at all times, and a friend was made for adversity.'"³⁹

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 120.

³⁷Jarratt, p. 124.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 152-3.

He draws a gloomy picture of the state of religion in Virginia.

"The prospect here, in Virginia, is gloomy and truly suspicious and discouraging.—Churches are little attended—perhaps in most places (I judge from report) not more than a dozen one Sunday with another; and sometimes half that number. This is indeed shocking, alarming, and distressing on many considerations,—as it goes to manifest, not only the low and still declining state of the Church, but also the little regard the people have for public worship of their Maker and Preserver, and for the salvation of their own souls.—It is true, as I hear, ministers are ordained from time to time, by our bishop; but I am not so happy as to hear that any of these men are, in reality, gospel ministers—you know what I mean. I am told also that the vestries, in different parishes, are still receiving ministers to officiate in their churches: but they are such ministers as the people will neither hear nor pay; consequently the whole burden must fall on the hands of the vestries, which they are not able to sustain. The consequence follows, that if the minister is not an independent man, he must be driven to seek new quarters, almost every year.

Nor, do I find the aspect of religious affairs much more encouraging in other societies, or denominations. There is an awful falling off on every hand.—True they have larger congregations, on Sundays, than our ministers have: and, in their public assemblies, they may frequently return thanks to heaven for their religious liberty and equality, privileges &c.—but I fear that are so far from making good use of these blessings, and duly availing themselves of their privileges, that many will have an accumulated account to render for misimprovement. By a letter from a pious Presbyterian minister, I learn that religion is at a low ebb among them. The baptists, I suppose, are equally declining. I seldom hear anything about them. The Methodists are splitting and falling to pieces—their religion seems to consist too much in party distinction, modes, rules, and usages of their own devising; and, indeed, most of the preachers they send out, and which I sometimes hear, appear to be so weak and unqualified for their business, I have less and less hope of any lasting or substantial good being done by their means."⁴⁰

Now were things much better in his own parish. Writing of his three churches, he says:

"I have little encouragement, you may be sure, to visit either of the three: for although we have, as yet, tolerable congregations, when the weather is good, and especially at Butterwood, where is generally the greatest congrega-

⁴⁰Jarratt, pp. 178-80.

tion, yet the word seems to have no effect. The people have set under the sound of it so long, that they appear gospel hardened, and proof against every motive and consideration that can be urged or enforced. However, when I consider that salvation belongeth unto God—that the conversion of sinners is a work of his power alone—that when he shall deign to take the work into his hand, the stoutest hearts must bend—that he does this work by the instrumentality of a preached gospel, and, that in the mean time that I am not accountable for the success of my own labours, I am still induced to hold on in calling sinners to repentance. Another thing which induces me to go to the churches, in this parish, is, because they are most convenient to me; and because I love to go to church. But when I go, and see, almost, the whole congregation, in the churchyard before the service, all engaged on worldly topics, or in trifling conversation—when I see them come in with such an air of indifference and irreverence—when I discover so little appearance of any design of joining me, heartily and sincerely, in the sacred exercises of the sanctuary—it tends to cool my zeal and spoil my own devotion—so that I seldom return from church, but with a heavy heart.”

“I know not how it may be in other *states*, but I consider the situation of a gospel minister, in this *state*, to be very forbidding and distressing. I have found it so, indeed, and still find it so, in an increasing degree: so that if duty and necessity laid not on me to preach the gospel—if a desire to please God and promote the best interests of mankind, did not compel, I see nothing that could induce me to hold the office any longer. I am not induced by the prospect of any temporal emolument, or reward—for I have no reason to expect this—but the contrary. I have no subscription in my favour, nor do I ask any.”⁴¹

So Devereux Jarratt passed to his eventide; distressed in mind and diseased in body. But though the outward man decayed; the inward man was renewed day by day. In 1795 he developed cancer of the face. On April 14 of that year he wrote “The Rev. Mr. John Coleman of Maryland”:

“The last winter and the present spring have afforded me but little leisure; my time has been employed in reading, writing and travelling. Old and afflicted as I am, I travelled more than one hundred miles last week, was at three funerals, each fourteen or fifteen miles from home—married two couples. . . . I went also to preach at Rocky-run church in Amelia—and on Sunday last I preached and administered the sacrament at *Butterwood*. Within less than three months, I think, I wrote about nine hundred

⁴¹Jarratt, pp. 184-86.

pages in quarto. Part of these I copied for the press—part I extracted and abridged—and part I composed in prose and poetry.— But now, it is probable, I have well nigh finished my work—at least the work of writing, and preparing anything for the press. Indeed, I have some cause to apprehend, that I may shortly be deprived of one of the greatest satisfactions of my life—I mean reading.— But the will of the *Lord* be done. With *his* blessing, life or death, prosperity or adversity will be gain to me.”⁴²

The following year he notes “little or no pain, but it is with difficulty I see to write.” “I wish,” he added, “to go to church every Sunday at least, to join in her most excellent system of public worship—a system to which I am particularly attached—because it is so noble, beautiful and complete in all its parts, and, in my judgment, well calculated to answer the end designed.”

Throughout the War of the Revolution Jarratt was stedfastly loyal to the American cause. One who knew him at that period writes, “By precept and example he encouraged frugality and economy and industry. I have often heard him recommend these virtues to his fellow-citizens, and even to go to *patch upon patch* rather than suffer their just rights to be infringed.”⁴³

He lived long enough to see the Church in Virginia pass through the fires of much tribulation. Her disestablishment cut off the main source of support for the clergy many of whom were compelled to earn a living in secular pursuits. Not a few of the churches were closed and despoiled. “Within our own times,” writes Hawks, “has the fact occurred that a reckless sensualist has administered the morning dram to his guests from the silver cup which has often contained the consecrated symbol of his Saviour’s blood.” Baptismal fonts were turned into watering troughs for cattle. Worst of all, the sheep of the flock were scattered on a thousand hills and deprived of the services and sacraments of the Church. Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them.

Devereux Jarratt was “delivered from the disquietude of this world” on January 29, 1801. The days of his years were three-score and eight. He had served in the ministry of the Church in Virginia for thirty-eight years. Loving hands carried him into the upper chamber with the windows opening to the sunrising. And the name of the chamber was peace.

His funeral sermon was preached by his old friend, Bishop Francis Asbury of the Methodist church. In the course of the sermon, he said:

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

⁴³*Meade: Old Churches and Families, Vol. I, p. 475.*

"He was a faithful and successful preacher. He had witnessed four or five periodical revivals of religion in his Parish.— When he began his labors, there was no other, that he knew of, evangelical ministers in all the province of Virginia. He travelled into several counties, and there were very few parish churches within fifty miles of his own, in which he had not preached: to which labors of love and zeal, was added the preaching of the word on solitary plantations, and in meeting-houses. He was the first who received our despised preachers. When strangers and unfriended, he took them into his house, and had societies formed in his parish. Some of his people became travelling and local preachers among us. I verily believe that hundreds were awakened by his labors. They are dispersed—some have gone to the Carolinas, to Georgia, to the western country—some perhaps are in heaven, and some, it may be, in hell."

So passed the first great Evangelical of the Church in the American Colonies; the first to light the altar-fire. It died down, but it never went out. The next generation stirred it again into a living flame.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the American Episcopal Church. By the Reverend William Wilson Manross, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of the General Theological Seminary. Morehouse Publishing Company, New York and Milwaukee. 1935. pp. 404.

The whole Church is indebted to the Morehouse Publishing Company for its venture in issuing a new history of the American Church during a period of acute economic depression. Such a book has long been needed. The two volumes of Bishop William Stevens Perry brought the story down to 1883. Long out of print, they are not easily obtainable. Valuable as they are, they are none the less rather beyond the general reader. Bishop Wilberforce's book was published in 1856 and is almost forgotten save by students. Then came McConnell's brilliant but not always accurate history. He originally planned to end with the Civil War. Realizing, as he wrote, that "the most difficult of all history to write is contemporaneous history," he somewhat reluctantly extended his account another twenty-five years, but stayed his hand about 1883. Archdeacon Tiffany's painstaking book ends with 1895. Hodges' "Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America" came out in 1907, and Professor Jenks' "The American Episcopal Church" in 1919. Each of these had severe limitations. Hodges' was just a popular outline; Jenks' avowedly "Interpreted for English Churchmen." It is more than forty years since a comprehensive history of this Church has been published. Much water has flowed under the bridge during those years. There have been great changes in the life and thought of the Church. We have witnessed the rise of Liberal Evangelicalism, the Buchman Movement, the later developments of Anglo-Catholicism, the Liberal Catholic Movement and Modernism. These are movements of vital importance and need to be put in their proper setting. Moreover, there have been important developments in missionary work, especially in our newer possessions, and radical changes in administrative policy, such as the creation of the National Council and an elective Presiding Bishop. There are new conceptions of Religious Education and a new Christian social consciousness. Hitherto we have had no book which links these modern developments with

our past history. This lack is supplied in the last chapter—"The Latest Phase"—in this volume under review. Mr. Manross excels in his contemporary history. It is detached, clear, intelligent and impartial.

The contents may be briefly summarized. The first nine chapters tell the story down to the War of the Revolution, including the period of Reconstruction, the early General Conventions and the consecration of Bishops Seabury, White, Provost and Madison. Then follows a chapter on "Recuperation"—the period when the Church was slowly finding herself. In Chapter XI, "Revival and Expansion" are associated particularly with the episcopates of Hobart and Griswold. The beginnings of organized domestic and foreign missionary work are dealt with in Chapter XII. One illuminating chapter is devoted to "The Oxford Movement and After," covering first the inception of the movement in England and going on to describe its growth and influence in America. Chapter XIV discusses the effect of the Civil War on the Church and then passes on to an account of the rise of Ritualism and the long-drawn-out ritualistic controversy. Then follows in Chapter XV the rise of the Broad Church Movement and the growth of Anglo-Catholicism. The later missionary enterprises are adequately described in Chapter XVI, and in the last chapter the story is carried down to the General Convention of 1934. From this summary it will be seen that Mr. Manross has succeeded in embracing every important phase of the history of this Church covering a period from 1575 to 1934.

In a volume covering so long a period it is extraordinarily difficult to maintain the balance of relative importance in the narrative and there is room for difference of judgment. In the opinion of this reviewer, a lack of proportion is a major defect in this volume. One regrets that the author did not see his way to a more expansive account of the period of reconstruction from 1784 to 1789. One hundred and seventy-one pages are devoted to the colonial period when the Church here was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London—was in fact the Church of England; only thirty pages are given to those memorable years when the American Church was working out her own salvation. In those years she organized the General Convention; obtained the Episcopate; issued the first American Book of Common Prayer and adopted her first Canons. The evolution of the Constitution is one of the most significant things in the history of this Church. More space should have been given to "The Proposed Book," which though materially changed, is yet the basis of our Liturgy. A fuller account of these years would have been very acceptable even though it involved some curtailment of the colonial

period. Devereux Jarratt merits more mention than the mere statement of his ordination and the fact "that he served the Church for many years in his native State of Virginia." He was the first great Evangelical in this Church, the pioneer of a new movement the influence of which is still potent. The same applies to Joseph Pilmore, whose ministry in Philadelphia and New York was memorable. Only the outstanding events of the life of Bishop William Meade are mentioned; nothing is said of his large moulding influence at a critical period. It is amazing to find the name of the Rev. William Croswell omitted entirely from the index, for surely he established the first Anglo-Catholic parish in America and demonstrated that there was a rightful place for such a parish in this Church. The paragraphs on the General Convention of 1835 should be rewritten and expanded. Scant justice is done to its importance. Its work was not limited to the reorganization of the missionary work and the election of missionary bishops. It was indeed, as Mr. Stowe described it in our last September number, "A Turning Point" in the life and work of the Church.

Some statements of fact may be questioned. The year of Meade's election as assistant Bishop of Virginia is incorrectly stated. The author describes Devereux Jarratt as having been associated "with the Methodists in his early years" (pp. 214-5). As a matter of fact Jarratt writes in his Autobiography: "I was wholly among the Presbyterians—had received all my knowledge of religion from them, was peculiarly attached to them and their Church and had no notion then of being a minister or member of any other" (p. 51). Jarratt's association with the Methodists came in later years, when he was accustomed to administer Holy Communion at their annual Conferences. The date of the advent of the first missionary to Florida is given as 1823. The Rev. Andrew Fowler of Charleston conducted services at St. Augustine in 1821. It is stated (p. 261) that missionary work in California began in 1850. On July 22, 1849, the Reverends A. Fitch and Flavel Mines conducted services in San Francisco and organized the parish of the Holy Trinity. On page 113 the author states that Mr. William Vesey, afterwards rector of Trinity Church, New York, had served as an "Independent minister at Hempstead." One is aware that such a statement was current among those who at that time were not friendly to the Church of England in New York. Dr. Morgan Dix, in his monumental *History of Trinity Parish*, devotes a whole chapter to a refutation of this statement. He shows that both Vesey and his parents were members of the Church of England at Braintree, Massachusetts; that Vesey continued that membership while at Harvard; that, pending age for ordination, he served as a

lay reader at Boston and Hempstead. The evidence as marshalled by Dr. Dix appears to be conclusive. On page 176 it is said that the Rev. Samuel Peters "came back after the war and divided his time between trying to become Bishop of Vermont . . ." Peters was actually elected Bishop of Vermont in 1794, when he was residing in England. Failing to obtain consecration, he remained in England ten years after his election and did not return to America until 1805. Mr. Manross follows the Connecticut tradition that Jeremiah Leaming declined the offer of the Episcopate "because of his advanced age" (p. 193). Leaming himself wrote Samuel Peters under date of June 1, 1786: "You ask me why I was not Bp of Con^t. I was bishop-elect by vote of the clergy here; but fearing the Chh might suffer under my poor abilities, caused me to answer *Nolo Episcopare*. Had I known that Dr S had so many personal enemies, I should not have given the answer I did." (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. I, p. 120.) The author's account of the "Proposed Book" is in one respect ambiguous. He writes (p. 195): "The work of revising the liturgy was continued by the committee . . . after the convention adjourned." The Journal shows that the Convention itself approved the book and recommended it to the use of the churches. White and Smith were appointed a committee to publish the book with a suitable preface. The committee was expressly enjoined from making any alteration "in form or substance." (Journal, 1785, Perry Edition, p. 28.)

One is inclined to question the whole treatment of the celebrated trial of Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York. In effect the responsibility for the prosecution is placed on the shoulders of the Rev. James C. Richmond, who was notoriously erratic. As a matter of fact the case was officially brought to the attention of the House of Bishops by two presbyters and three lay deputies from the dioceses of South Carolina and Georgia under the leadership of the Rev. Paul C. Trapier of Charleston. One cannot but regret the slur cast upon the witnesses by the author when he speaks of "the sort of women who would consent to appear in such a case" (p. 280). Over against this we may set the considered judgment of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont—the only member of the court who had been a member of the legal profession and a High Churchman to boot. He wrote, "Never in the course of many years' experience have I seen such a body of witnesses. Clergymen of unspotted reputation, their wives exemplary and blameless, communicants active and zealous of good works—such are the persons, on whose solemn oaths we have decided this afflicting issue."

These suggestions are not made in the spirit of captious criticism. Whatever errors there may be are possibly due to haste in preparing

the book and may be corrected in future editions. The author has done an excellent piece of work; his style is simple and clear, and the interest of the narrative is sustained throughout. His judgment alike of men and movements is discriminating. He is equally at home in describing High and Low Churchmen; the older Evangelicals and the early High Churchmen; the Liberal Evangelicals and the Liberal Catholics. He summarizes their position without bias. His pen pictures of Bishops like Griswold and Hobart are well drawn, though he is on occasion not sparing in describing the besetting sins of certain presbyters.

The Bibliography is good as far as it goes. It may be noted that Dix's *History of the Parish of Trinity Church* consists of four, not six, volumes. The statement that the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society published only one volume of *Collections* is incorrect. A second volume was issued in 1853. There are some notable omissions, such as the Rev. Jonathan Boucher's *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist: 1738-1789*; the Journals of the Conventions of the Church in the Confederate States, and Bishop Chesire's *History of the Church in the Confederate States*, both of which are indispensable for that period; Goodwin's *Colonial Church in Virginia*, Skirvel's *First Parishes in the Province of Maryland in 1692*, and Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families in Virginia*. One misses any mention of Brewer's *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835*. Under the head of Periodicals the omission of any Evangelical Church Paper is unfortunate. Surely *The Southern Churchman*, over a century old, might have found a place as well as the *Gambier Observer*. Bishop Hopkins' four trenchant essays on *The Novelties Which Disturb Our Peace* are not mentioned under the head of Pamphlets. Some additions should be made to the list of MSS. Notably the Judge Brinton Collection of the MSS of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, now in the custody of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and other papers of his at the University of Pennsylvania. The Samuel Peters' Papers deposited with the New York Historical Society are invaluable. No mention is made of Allison's *Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories*, nor is it noted that the Library of Congress has transcripts of the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. There are twenty-six volumes of Series A (1702-1737), and twenty-five volumes of Series B (1725-1782). One regrets that though the Jarvis Papers are listed, they were "not consulted." They are primary sources for the early Church in Connecticut, for the Seabury consecration, and for an understanding of "Connecticut Church-

manship." In spite of a few errors in paging, students will thank whatever gods there may be for the Index.

With a little revision and correction this should be a standard book for several years. One hopes that some day someone will write a narrative and critical History and do for the Church what Justin Winsor did for America. Meanwhile, this is a worthy successor to McConnell and Tiffany.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Diocese of Western New York, 1897-1931. By G. Sherman Burrows. Published by the Diocese of Western New York. 1935. pp. 565.

Some thirty-two years ago the Rev. Charles Wells Hayes wrote a history of the diocese of Western New York from its beginnings down to 1896. It has long been regarded as an authority for a history of the Church in the western part of the State of New York. Commencing with a brief account of the Jesuit Missions from 1625 to 1759, it included the later work of the Church of England missionaries to the Indians. In 1797 the diocese of New York appointed the Rev. Robert Griffith Wetmore as a missionary to the western border and he was succeeded by Philander Chase, who founded several parishes, some of which continue to this day. His work was carried on by Davenport Phelps and Daniel Nash, who served throughout the entire region as itinerant missionaries. Under the vigorous leadership of Bishop John Henry Hobart the work increased by leaps and bounds, and in 1838 the diocese of Western New York was created. For the first time in the history of this Church there were two dioceses within the boundary of one State. The Hayes volume covered the period of the episcopate of William H. De Lancey, first bishop; his coadjutor and successor, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, and the creation of the diocese of Central New York. Now comes this massive volume from the pen of Dr. Sherman Burrows and published in connection with the centenary of the diocese to be celebrated in 1938. It is the product of long and careful research, lucid in style; impartial in its treatment of theological and ecclesiastical questions; wide in its sweep of human interest—a truly monumental work destined to stand in the front rank of our diocesan histories. The book begins with the episcopate of Bishop William D. Walker, who was translated to Western New York from the missionary bishopric of North Dakota. The story is carried on through the administrations of Charles Henry Brent, of blessed memory; David Lincoln

Ferris, down through the division of the diocese and covers the earlier days of Bishop Cameron J. Davis. As a necessary part of historical record one chapter is devoted to the celebrated Crapsey trial for heresy. Dr. Burrows holds the scales evenly in his account of the proceedings which led up to the trial, the trial itself and the subsequent appeal. After this lapse of time when passions have cooled it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in some particulars the conduct of the trial left much to be desired in the administration of justice. It certainly was unfortunate that when the proceedings—to use Dr. Burrows' phrase—were in the "offing," the Bishop of the diocese indulged in a tirade against liberalism in the Church. Among the highlights of this book are the excellent pen sketches of the bishops of the diocese. The one of Bishop Walker is particularly illuminating and goes far to explain the Crapsey episode. Dr. Walker was a stiff high churchman of the Hobart type. Like Hobart he would have neither part nor lot in association with other Christian bodies. He believed equally in an infallible Church and an infallible Bible. Anything savoring of Rome was an abomination. Reluctantly tolerating white linen eucharistic vestments, colored vestments, bowings, candles were beyond the pale. As late as 1915 he ruled that "Reservation of the Sacrament has no authority." On the other hand, "extempore prayers in public worship" he deemed "as objectionable as the Stations of the Cross or the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament." He ruled the clergy with an iron hand. Dr. Burrows writes:

"A clergyman on the street, without a clerical vest and collar, was an object of suspicion. If he participated in a non-episcopal service of public worship, he was a subject for discipline. Even active participation in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association was not to be encouraged: and membership in inter-denominational 'Minister's Associations' was allying oneself with anti-Church forces.

And so the way of the Cleric in the Diocese of Western New York, under Bishop Walker, if he was disposed to conform, was strait and well defined. His dress, in Church and out of it, his associations, his sympathies and interests, ecclesiastically, were all fixed."

In other respects Dr. Walker made an admirable bishop. He cared much for the welfare of the parishes and especially for the mission churches. Clergy and laity alike respected him for the courage of his convictions. He was an excellent preacher and his confirmation addresses were fatherly and tender.

He was succeeded by Charles Henry Brent, saint and soldier. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast between two men

in points of view and methods of administration. Bishop Walker discouraged intercourse with other Christian bodies; Bishop Brent encouraged it by precept and example. With the advent of Bishop Brent inhibitions which had borne heavily on some of the clergy were raised and the whole diocese moved into the larger room of life and thought. In 1920 the Rev. David Lincoln Ferris was elected Bishop Suffragan, and later coadjutor. The two men worked in perfect harmony and the diocese responded joyfully. The most beautiful chapter is the one headed "Bishop Brent—The Man." With rare charm it subordinates the ever-changing circumstance of the outward life to an arresting insight into the inner man. Beginning his ministry in Buffalo he passed to the ordered and disciplined life under the direction of the Order of St. John the Evangelist in Boston. It was there that his deep mystical sense developed. While some of his friends were hoping for his election as Dean of the General Theological Seminary, there came the imperious call to the missionary episcopate of the Philippines. On that far-flung frontier he caught his first glimpse of world relationships. Of those days he wrote: "It was among those pagan peoples that I learned that equality before God of all men, which I count to be the chief treasure I have honestly made my own in my lifetime." In measured words Dr. Burrows traces the gradual emergence of Dr. Brent as a world figure and not least his creative leadership in the World Conference on Faith and Order. On the 27th day of March, 1929, he fell on sleep with a late lark singing in his heart. His passing was splendid and serene.

Under the guidance of Bishop Ferris the diocese of Western New York was divided, Rochester becoming the head of the new diocese. Such is the story told by Dr. Burrows with rich fulness. To it is added brief histories of the parishes; a detailed account of diocesan organizations and statistical studies of the growth of the diocese at different periods.

In a volume of this size some typographical errors are inevitable, and there are such; also an occasional misspelling of names—"Allison" for "Albion W. Knight"; "Buch" for "Burch." On page IX the date of the organization of the General Convention is given as 1784 instead of 1785. The diocese of Western New York is to be congratulated on the completion of its history to date, and on its discrimination in entrusting the task to Dr. Burrows, who has proved himself to be a competent and trustworthy recorder.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

